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SUPPLEMENT

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[Heading and boldface passages as published]

[Text] **Proletarians of All Countries Unite!**
Draft: CPSU Program (New Edition)

INTRODUCTION

The Land of the Soviets born of the Great October Socialist Revolution has traveled a long and glorious path. World historical victories have been won under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class and all working people and armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching and with extremely rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist building, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the course of communist creation and peace.

The party emerged in the political arena as the worthy continuer of the ideas of the socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the communists' first program document, "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," of the revolutionary traditions of the international workers movement, and of the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, relying on historical experience of the class struggle and the achievements of mankind's advanced thought, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism, and substantiated the world historical mission of the proletariat as the maker of the new, socialist system. Their ardent slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" remains to this day the militant slogan of the workers movement.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developed their teaching under new historical conditions, provided answers to the fundamental questions of modern time, and equipped the workers movement with the theory of socialist revolution and socialist building and with a scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integrated revolutionary teaching. The party created by the great Lenin is the living embodiment of the combination of scientific socialism with the workers movement and of the unbreakable unity of theory and practice. It has always been, is, and will remain a party of Marxism-Leninism, a party of revolutionary action.

At each historical stage the CPSU has resolved the tasks scientifically substantiated in its programs. After adopting the first program at the second congress in 1903, the Bolshevik party led the working class, the peasantry, and all the working people of Russia into the struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and later the capitalist system and passed through the flames of the three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into their hands. A state of workers and peasants arose for the first time in history. **The creation of the new world began.**

After adopting the second program at the eighth congress in 1919, the party put forward the task of building [postroyeniye] socialism. Trailblazing, overcoming tremendous difficulties, displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people under the Communist Party's leadership implemented the plan of socialist building elaborated by Lenin. **Socialism in our country became a reality.**

After adopting the third program at the 22d congress in 1961, the party mounted tremendous work in all avenues of communist building. The Soviet people achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture and in molding the new man. **The country entered the stage of developed socialism.** The role of the Soviet Union as a powerful factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression, and war and for peace, democracy, and social progress increased.

The time that has passed since the adoption of the third program has confirmed the correctness of its main theoretical and political guidelines. At the same time the accumulated experience and the scientific interpretation of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena make it possible to define more precisely and more specifically the prospects for Soviet society's development, ways and means of achieving the ultimate goal — communism — and the tasks of international policy under the new historical conditions.

The Third CPSU Program in its present edition is a program of the systematic and comprehensive improvement of socialism and of the further progress of Soviet society toward communism on the basis of an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. It is a program of struggle for peace and for social progress.

PART ONE. THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IS THE MAJOR CONTENT OF THE MODERN ERA

I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Building [postroyeniye] of Socialism in the USSR

Mankind's world historical turn toward socialism, which was begun by the October Revolution, is the law-governed result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in the history of mankind. After lending powerful impetus to the development of productive forces, it then became an obstacle in the way of social progress.

The entire history of capitalism is the history of the deepening of its fundamental contradiction — the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation — of the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and all the working people, and of the exacerbation of the struggle between labor and capital, between the oppressed and the oppressors. It is the history of economic crises, socioeconomic upheavals, and aggressive wars and conflicts that bring incalculable calamities to working people.

In the early 20th century, the process of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the emergence of mighty monopoly unions of capitalists that seized the main levers in all economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and final stage — the stage of imperialism. As Lenin expressed, "Imperialist capitalism became the greatest oppressor of nations" and the main source of aggressive wars.

At the stage of imperialism, the material conditions take shape for the replacement of capitalist production relations by socialist production relations and the objective and subjective preconditions for a victorious socialist revolution ripen. **History entrusted the mission of the revolutionary transformer of the old and creator of the new society to the working class.** In implementing that mission, the working class expresses not only its own class interests but also the interests of all working people.

In Russia the contradictions of imperialism, deepened by Tsarist oppression and by survivals of serfdom, were displayed with exceptional force. It was the weakest link in international imperialism and the focal point of its contradictions. It was tothere that the center of the world revolutionary movement shifted. The Russian proletariat was faced with a most difficult and responsible task — being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could only be done under the leadership of a party of the new type — a militant revolutionary organization of the proletariat.

The formation of the Bolshevik party was the turning point in the history of the Russian and international workers movement. It was an expression of an objective requirement of social development and of the proletariat's class struggle, the fruit of the scientific perspicacity, and the result of the tireless political and organizational work of Lenin, who rallied Marxists around himself. Lenin's impassioned slogan, "Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we will turn Russia upside down!" met with an ardent response in the hearts and minds of the workers and progressive people of Russian society and the best representatives of the laboring people. Lenin elaborated the ideological, political, and organizational principles of the party and the methods of its work among the masses. The party of the new type was created in implacable clashes with revisionism and right-wing opportunism, dogmatism, and leftist adventurism.

The 1905-1907 revolution — the first people's revolution of the imperialist era — had already shown the working class' strength and was the prologue to future victories by the proletariat. The February bourgeois democratic revolution of 1917 swept tsarism away but did not rid the people's masses of social and national oppression or the travails of the imperialist war and did not resolve the contradictions rending Russian society. Socialist revolution became an immutable demand of the times.

Russia's working class was distinguished by supreme revolutionariness and organization. It was headed by a Bolshevik party that had been tempered in political battles and possessed an advanced revolutionary theory. Lenin armed it with a clear perspective for the struggle by creating a doctrine on the possibility of achieving a victory by the proletarian revolution,under the conditions of imperialism, initially in one or a few individual countries.

In response to the Bolshevik party's call and under its leadership the working class entered into resolute combat against the power of capital. The party united into a single powerful stream the proletarian struggle for socialism, the peasant struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia, and the nationwide movement against the imperialist war and for peace, and channeled it toward the overthrow of the bourgeois system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution became a turning point in world history and determined the general direction and main trends of world development. It initiated an inexorable process — the replacement of capitalism with a new, communist socioeconomic formation.

A state of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged for the first time in history. Uniting all working people around itself, the working class embarked on the resolution of the most complex tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the creation of the foundations of the new society.

The gaining of political power and of victory on the fronts of the civil war and the routing of foreign military intervention, which opened prospects for building the new life, generated a mighty surge of forces and revolutionary energy among the working masses. They overcame the deprivations and difficulties engendered by economic ruin, counterrevolutionary conspiracies and sabotage by the bourgeoisie, and the country's technical-economic and cultural backwardness. At times during the transitional period the class struggle resulted in acute clashes. The land of the Soviets was subjected to fierce attacks from hostile, capitalist encirclement and to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the masses' enthusiasm, repelling the onslaughts of right and "left" opportunists, and consolidating its ideological-political and organizational unity, the party steadily pursued Lenin's general line toward building [postroyeniye] socialism.

The main means of production were handed over to the people. **The nationalization of the land, plants, factories, and banks** ensured the necessary preconditions for establishing and developing public socialist ownership and the organization of a planned economic system. The country's **industrialization** turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power. **The collectivization** of agriculture became a profound turning point in economic relations and in the peasantry's entire way of life. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a firm socioeconomic foundation. As a result of the **cultural revolution,**

illiteracy was abolished, broad scope was opened for the development of the working people's creative powers and spiritual flowering, the socialist intelligentsia was formed, and Marxist-Leninist ideology became dominent in Soviet people's consciousness.

An outstanding accomplishment of socialism was the solution of **the nationalities question. The October victory put an end forever** to national oppression and the inequality of nations. The voluntary association of free, equal peoples in a single multinational state — the USSR — played an enormous part. In the process of building socialism, the rapid economic, social, and cultural progress of former national outlying districts was ensured. National hostility became a thing of the past and the fraternal friendship, close cooperation, and mutual aid of all USSR peoples became the norm of life.

All this meant that a social change of world historical importance was effected — an end was put forever to the age-old rule of private ownership and man's exploitation of man was abolished. On the basis of the common interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, and working people of all nationalities, the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society was formed. The working man became the full master of the country. **The socialist society was basically built in the USSR.**

The Great Patriotic War was a stern test of the new system. Rallied around the party and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people and their Armed Forces dealt a crushing defeat to the shock detachment of world imperialist reaction. By its victory, the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the European peoples from Nazi slavery and to the salvation of world civilization from Hitlerism's obscurantism. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism opened up new opportunities for the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

The USSR rapidly healed the grave wounds of the war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific-technical, and defense potential, and strengthened its international positions. **Socialism in our country had won fully and definitively.**

Relying on what had been achieved, Soviet society continued to make confident headway on all avenues of economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual development. A unified national economic complex was formed in the country. Major new regions were developed in the north and east of the country and the use of natural resources improved. There was a considerable increase in national income and social labor productivity. The standard of the people's prosperity was substantially improved and an imposing program of housing construction was implemented. The people's spiritual wealth was increased, a transition to universal secondary education was effected, and Soviet science and technology achieved outstanding successes. It was in the Soviet Union that the first atomic power station and the first atomic icebreaker were built, the first artificial earth satellite was launched, and the first manned spaceship launched.

Socialist social relations were strengthened. A new social and international community of people — the Soviet people — was formed.

Displaying Bolshevik principledness and self-criticism, relying on the masses' support, the party performed a large amount of work to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult and deviations from Lenin's norms of party and state leadership and to rectify errors of a subjectivist, voluntarist nature. Socialist democracy was further developed and Soviet legality was strengthened.

The establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO was a historic achievement for socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the socialist countries, and all progressive forces, and thwarted the calculations of imperialism's aggressive circles of winning a world nuclear war. The conservation of this equilibrium is an important guarantee that peace and international security will be safeguarded.

The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socioeconomic, political, ideological, and moral advantages of the new system as a level of man's progress superior to capitalism and it provides answers to questions which the bourgeois system cannot resolve.

Socialism is a society on whose banner are printed the words "Everything in the name of man, everything for the sake of man." This is a society in which:

— the means of production are in the hands of the people and an end has been put forever to man's exploitation of man, social oppression, the rule of a privileged minority, and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;

— very broad scope has been opened up for the dynamic and planned development of productive forces, and scientific-technical progress entails not unemployment for millions but the steady improvement of the entire people's prosperity;

— an equal right to labor and its just reward in accordance with the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" has been ensured and the population enjoys social benefits such as free medical services and education and housing for a minimal payment;

— the indestructible alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and intelligentsia has been asserted, women have been given truly equal rights with men, a reliable path into the future has been opened up for the younger generation, and social security for labor veterans has been guaranteed;

— national inequality has been eliminated and the actual and legal equality and friendship and fraternity of all nations and ethnic groups have been asserted;

— Genuine democracy, power wielded for the people and by the people themselves, has been established and is being developed, and the citizens' increasingly broad and equal participation in the management of production, social, and state affairs has been ensured;

— The ideas of freedom, human rights, and the dignity of the individual have been filled with real living content, the unity of rights and duties is being ensured, and the same laws and moral norms and the same discipline operate for one and all;

— A truly humanitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology rules, the people's masses have been given access to all sources of knowledge, and a progressive culture has been created, absorbing all that is best from world culture;

— A socialist way of life based on social justice, collectivism, and comradely mutual aid has formed, giving the working person confidence in the future and spiritually and morally ennobling him as the creator of new social relations and his own destiny.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are aimed at supporting the peoples' desire for independence and social progress and are subordinated to the main task — preserving and strengthening peace.

The Soviet people's persistent labor and the major successes in the economy, the social and political spheres, science, and culture have led our country to scale new historical heights opening up the stage of developed socialism. The task of the all-around and comprehensive improvement of socialist society and the fuller and more effective use of its potential and advantages has been put on the agenda.

II. The Struggle Between The Forces of Progress and Reaction in The Modern World

The worldwide historical process of social liberation that began with Great October was marked, after the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, by the overthrow of the exploiters' power in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and later in America also. **Socialism, which originally became a reality in our country, was transformed into a world system.** The Marxist-Leninist theory of building [postroyeniye] the new society has been tested in practice on an international scale. Socialism has become established over vast areas of the world and its indisputable advantages have been graphically confirmed by the examples of a whole group of countries and hundreds of millions of people are following the path of the creation of a communist civilization. More and more new peoples are denying capitalism their trust, will not link their prospects for development with it, and persistently strive for the type of social structure and social relations that have already become established in the socialist countries.

Socialism's successes are all the more impressive in that they have been achieved in what is historically a very short space of time, under conditions of unceasing pressure from imperialism — from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to organize counterrevolutionary coups.

The significance of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries does not fade. The decades that have elapsed have enriched the practice of socialist building and graphically revealed the diversity of the socialist world. At the same time, the experience of these decades testifies to the tremendous significance of the **general laws of socialism's development** such as: the power of the working people, with the working class having the leading role; leadership of society's development by a communist party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production, and on this basis planned economic growth in the interests of the entire people; the implementation of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor"; the development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship among all nations and ethnic groups; and the defense of revolutionary gains against the encroachments of class enemies.

The utilization of general laws in the specific conditions of each of the socialist countries is the basis of their confident forward movement, the basis for overcoming the difficulties of growth and for resolving promptly the contradictions that arise, and represents the real contribution of the ruling communist parties to the general process of socialist development.

Socialism has called into being a new, unprecedented type of international relations taking shape among the socialist states. Its firm foundation is Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance in resolving the tasks of the building and defense of the new society; and equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The relations of socialist internationalism have found their fullest embodiment in the **socialist community**. The community countries — the participants in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact — are united by their common vital interests and goals and by bonds of broad, multifaceted cooperation, and coordinate their actions in international affairs. History has never before seen a community of countries where nobody has or can have special rights or privileges, where international relations have truly become relations between peoples, where living, fruitful ties have become established and are developing at every level — from the highest party and state leadership to the labor collectives. The community augments the forces of the fraternal states in socialist building and helps to ensure their reliable security.

The objective requirement for increasing rapprochement between the socialist countries flows from socialism's very nature. Whereas in the capitalist world the law of unevenness of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural development operates and the strong countries grow rich by plundering the weak and reinforce their backwardness in every way, socialism creates the necessary conditions to pull the less developed countries up to the level of the leading countries. The higher and more nearly uniform the socialist countries' level of social development is, the richer and deeper their cooperation and the more organic the process of their rapprochement are.

The formation of the world system of socialism and the formation and strengthening of the socialist community led to a **radical change in the correlation of forces in the international arena** in favor of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom, and peace. The socialist community is the most prestigious force today, without which no question of world politics can be resolved. It is the firm bulwark of peace on earth, the most consistent defender of sound, peaceful, democratic

principles in international relations, and the main obstacle in the path of imperialist reaction.

The young world of socialism, oriented toward the future, is opposed by the exploitative world of capitalism, which is still strong and dangerous, but has already passed its zenith. **The general crisis of capitalism is deepening**. Its sphere of domination is narrowing irreversibly and it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is historically doomed.

Present-day capitalism differs in many respects from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, which combines the strength of the monopolies and of the state in a single mechanism, the conflict between the enormously increased productive forces and capitalist production relations becomes increasingly acute. The internal instability of the economy is intensified as expressed in the slowing of its overall growth rate and in the interweaving and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease and budget deficits and state debts reach colossal scales.

A direct result of the capitalist concentration and internationalization of production is the strengthening of the multinational corporations, which extract huge profits through the exploitation of the working people on a worldwide scale. They not only undermine the sovereignty of young states, but also encroach on the national interests of the developed capitalist countries.

In an attempt to adapt to the changed situation, capitalism constantly maneuvers. The bourgeois state redistributes a significant proportion of national income in favor of big capital through the budget and seeks to place the latest scientific and technical achievements at its own service. The machinery of exploitation has become more complex and sophisticated. More and more profit is being squeezed out of the working people's skills, intellectual forces, and nervous energy.

In a situation of the growing influence of world socialism, from time to time the working people's class struggle forces the capitalists to make partial concessions and to make certain improvements in working conditions, remuneration, and social security. This is done in order to preserve what is most important — the domination of capital. But this maneuvering is increasingly frequently combined with coercive actions and a direct onslaught by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the working people's living standard.

Under capitalism, the scientific and technical revolution entails grave social consequences. Millions of working people, shut out of the gates of the enterprises, are condemned to loss of professional skills and to material privations and lose all confidence in the future. A significant proportion of young people, after receiving education, cannot find an application for their efforts and knowledge and suffer because of the hopelessness of their situation. Mass unemployment persists whatever the short-term economic situation, and the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious shocks to capitalism as a social system.

The monopolies have seized dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. Millions of farmers are forced out of production and those who manage to survive hold on at the cost of excessive labor and privations. The fate of farmers' families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrary actions of the monopolies. The lot of the peasants in former colonies and semicolonies is especially grave. Small and medium-sized city businessmen are exploited more and more by big capital and are caught in a net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, great numbers of people are without shelter, are illiterate, and are deprived of medical attention. The ignominious discrimination against national minorities persists and women's rights are encroached upon.

In the political sphere, imperialism is characterized by a trend toward the strengthening of reaction in all avenues. Where the working people, through a stubborn struggle, have secured certain democratic rights, state monopoly capital wages a persistent and, at times, cunningly disguised offensive against those rights. In situations where it is in danger, it does not hesitate to resort to political blackmail, repressions, terror, and punitive acts. Neofascism is increasingly active in the political arena. Where conventional forms of suppression of the working people do not work, imperialism installs and supports tyrannical dictatorships to take direct military reprisals against progressive forces. Seeking to weaken the working people's international solidarity, imperialism kindles and provokes national egotism, chauvinism, racism, and contempt for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

The inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism does increasing damage to people's spiritual world. The cult of individualism and permissiveness, malicious anticommunism, and the exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to the propagation of spiritual aridity and the moral degradation of society. Imperialism engendered the wave of terrorism that has swept through capitalist society. The role of the bourgeois mass information media, which dull people's consciousness in the interests of the dominant class, is becoming increasingly pernicious.

The unevenness of development of countries within the capitalist system is deepening. Three leading centers of interimperialist rivalry have emerged: the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. The competitive struggle between them for markets, spheres of application of capital, raw materials sources, and superiority in the decisive spheres of scientific and technical progress is intensifying. New economic and political centers of rivalry are forming, above all in the Pacific and in Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are becoming exacerbated. The imperial ambitions and self-interested policy of the U.S. monopolies and their readiness, on the basis of selfish considerations, to sacrifice the interests and security of other states, even their allies, are giving rise to increasingly wide indignation and alarm in the world.

Imperialism bears responsibility for the huge and growing gap in levels of economic development between the industrialized capitalist countries and the majority of states that have gained

liberation, and for the persistence of extensive zones of hunger, poverty, and epidemic diseases in the world.

The more severely the course of historical development gnaws away at imperialism's positions, the more hostile to the peoples' interests the policy of its most reactionary forces becomes. Imperialism offers severe resistance to social progress and makes attempts to halt the course of history, undermine socialism's positions, and take social revenge on a worldwide scale. The imperialist powers seek to coordinate their economic, political, and ideological strategy and try to create a common front of struggle against socialism and against all revolutionary, liberation movements.

Imperialism is reluctant to confront the political realities of the modern world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it seeks to deprive them of the right to choose their own path of development and threatens their security. This is the main reason for the outbreak of conflicts in various regions of the world.

The citadel of international reaction is U.S. imperialism. It is from here, above all, that the threat of war emanates. Laying claim to world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its "vital interests." The policy pursued by the United States of diktat, of imposing unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive antipopular regimes, and of discrimination against countries that are inconvenient to the United States sows disorganization in interstate economic and political relations and hampers their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the many years of blockade against Cuba, the flouting of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed occupation of defenseless Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua — these are just some of the countless crimes which will always be the most ignominious pages of imperialism's history.

Imperialism's greatest crime against the peoples is the race for nuclear and other arms, which it has unleashed on an unprecedented scale. This brings the monopolies unheard-of profits. The enormous military spending is a grave burden on the working people's shoulders. The weapons manufacturing monopolies, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus, and militarized science, coming together to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous champions and organizers of the policy of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance between the manufacturers of death and the imperialist state power is the buttress of extreme reaction, a constant and increasing source of the danger of war, and the convincing confirmation of the political, social, and moral bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

No "modifications" and maneuvers by present-day capitalism will or can abrogate the laws of its development, eliminate the acute antagonism between labor and capital and between monopolies and society, or extract the historically doomed capitalist system from a state of all-embracing crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the same means that capitalism employs with a view to strengthening its positions inevitably lead to the exacerbation of all its profound contradictions. Imperialism is capitalism decaying and moribund, the eve of socialist revolution.

The working class has been and remains the main revolutionary class of the modern era. In the capitalist world it is the main force struggling to overthrow the exploiter system and build [pos troyeniye] the new society.

Life confirms the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the growth of the role of the working class in society. The growing application of science in production is supplementing its ranks with representatives of mental labor. During class battles the working class is rallied, creates its own political parties, trade unions, and other organizations, and conducts an economic, political, and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of this struggle is expanding, its forms are becoming more diverse, and its content is being enriched. The proletariat's fundamental interests are making the need to achieve the unity of the workers movement and solidarity actions by all its detachments increasingly essential.

The young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is faced with difficult tasks. It is opposed both by foreign capital and local exploiters. Its political maturity and organization are increasing in struggle.

The international communist movement is the vanguard of the workers movement and all forces of the world revolutionary process. Communists struggle for both the immediate and long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all working people, and for social progress, peace, disarmament, and universal security. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of the present day.

The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the scientific theory of social development — Marxism-Leninism — and pursue a principled class policy. They are distinguished by their conviction of the historical inevitability that capitalism will be replaced by socialism, their clear understanding of the objective laws of socialist revolution in whatever forms, peaceful or nonpeaceful, it is implemented, and their ability to use the general principles of the struggle for socialism under the specific conditions of each country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly defend the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, indicate ways of escaping from society's state of crisis, offer a real alternative to the exploiter system, and provide answers imbued with social optimism to the fundamental questions of the day. They are the genuine expressers and the most steadfast defenders of their countries' national interests.

The consistently class-based course enhances the communist parties' prestige despite the fact that imperialism's political and ideological apparatus is operating increasingly perfidiously, combining discrimination with the persecution of communists and open anticommunist propaganda with support for those elements within the workers movement which oppose the class policy and international solidarity and advocate social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack communists so fiercely precisely

because they represent a movement that has deep roots in social development and reflects the most urgent interests of the people's masses.

A typical feature of our time is **the upsurge of mass democratic movements in the nonsocialist world**. In capitalist countries, the antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population is deepening. The intelligentsia, employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, young people, and students are increasingly becoming actively involved in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political outlooks are demanding that the militarization of society and the policy of aggression and war be ended and that racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the deterioration in the position of the young generation, corruption, and the predatory attitude of the monopolies toward the utilization of natural resources and the environment be ended. These movements are objectively aimed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and merge into the common stream of the struggle for social progress.

The anti-imperialist struggle of countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke to strengthen their independence and ensure social progress is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of dozens of independent states on its ruins was the historic gain of the national liberation revolutions which substantially influenced the correlation of forces in the world.

In the years of independence, many of them have achieved notable successes in economic and cultural building and in strengthening their national statehood. Collective forms of these countries' struggle for their rights in the international arena have emerged. But experience has shown that their path to strengthening political independence and to ensuring economic and social renewal is seriously complicated by the legacy of the colonial and semicolonial past and the actions of imperialism.

In pursuing a policy of neocolonialism, imperialism is striving to emasculate the sovereignty gained by the young states and to maintain and even step up control over them. It is trying to draw them into the militarist orbit and use them as springboards for its aggressive global strategy. In striving to achieve these goals, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic diktat and support domestic reaction. Even countries that have long since won state independence — such as the Latin American states, for instance — have been forced to wage an intense struggle against the domination of the monopolies of the United States and the other imperialist powers.

Exploiting the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, exacting tributes running into many billions [currency not specified] and exhausting these states' economies. The gigantic debt of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important channel for their exploitation by imperialism, first and foremost U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the resistance of these countries' peoples to the imperialists' actions is growing. They are continuing a persistent and just struggle against neocolonialism, interference in their internal affairs, racism, and apartheid. This resistance objectively merges with the common anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace, and social progress.

The noncapitalist path of development, **the path of a socialist orientation**, selected by a number of liberated countries, opens up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that under contemporary conditions, given the correlation of forces existing in the world, the opportunities are broadened for previously enslaved peoples to overthrow capitalism and to build a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of great historic significance.

Overcoming the resistance of the internal and external reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course toward the liquidation of the domination of the imperialist monopolies, of the tribal elite, feudalists, and reactionary bourgeoisie, toward strengthening the state sector in the economy, encouraging the cooperative movement in the countryside, and enhancing the role of the working masses in economic and political life. Protecting their independence from the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are expanding cooperation with the socialist states. The path they have selected accords with the genuine interests and aspirations of the peoples' masses, reflects their aspiration for a just social system, and coincides with the main avenue of mankind's development.

The most acute problem facing mankind now is the problem of war and peace. Imperialism is to blame for two world wars that exacted a toll of many tens of millions of lives. It threatens a third world war. Imperialism places the achievements of human genius at the service of the creation of weapons of monstrous destructive force. The policy of imperialist circles prepared to sacrifice the fates of whole peoples intensifies the danger that such weapons might be put into action. Ultimately, this threatens a global military conflict as a result of which there would prove to be neither victors nor vanquished, but world civilization could perish.

The question as to which purposes the fruits of the scientific and technical revolution will be used for, has become one of the chief questions in the contemporary sociopolitical struggle. Science and technology in our time provide the opportunity to ensure on earth an abundance of blessings and to create material conditions for the flourishing of society and the all-around development of the individual. But they — these creations of man's intellect and hands — are being turned against man himself by dint of class egoism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite holding sway in the capitalist world. Such is the flagrant and intolerable contradiction with which mankind has arrived at the threshold of the 21st century.

In themselves, science and technology do not carry a threat to peace, but this threat is carried by imperialism and its policy — the policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of the present time. Only by curbing these forces can this threat be done away with.

In a world packed with acute contradictions and in the face of the threatening catastrophe, there is just one sensible, just one

acceptable way out — **the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems**. This is not simply an absence of wars. It is the kind of international order whereby not military force, but good-neighborliness and cooperation would predominate and whereby a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and of cultural values for the benefit of all peoples would take place. Deliverance from the expenditure of enormous resources on military needs would make it possible to channel the fruits of labor exclusively toward creative goals. States that have embarked on the path of independent development would be protected from outside encroachments, which would facilitate their movement along the path of national upsurge. Favorable opportunities would also be revealed for the solution of mankind's global problems by the collective efforts of all states. Peaceful coexistence accords with the interests of all countries and all peoples.

There has never been such an awesome danger hanging over mankind, but neither have there ever been such real opportunities to preserve and strengthen peace. By pooling their efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The growing potential of the forces of peace is confronting the aggressive policy of imperialism. These include the active, consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defense might. It includes the policy of the vast majority of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have a vital interest in the preservation of peace and the ending of the arms race. It includes the antiwar movements of the broadest people's masses on all continents, which have become a long-term and influential factor of public life. A sober reckoning of the real correlation of forces is even leading many statesmen and politicians of capitalist states to an understanding of the danger of continuing and expanding the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great may be the threat to peace being created by the policy of the aggressive forces of imperialism, **there is no fatal inevitability of world war. It is possible to avert war and to safeguard mankind from catastrophe. This is the historic vocation of socialism and of all progressive, peace-loving forces of our world.**

The whole course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the contemporary epoch. **This is the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, of the historic competition of the two world sociopolitical systems, the epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the downfall of colonialism, the epoch of the struggle of the chief motive forces of social development — world socialism, the workers and communist movement, the peoples of the liberated states and the mass democratic movements — against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for democracy and social progress.**

The constant growth of these forces and their interaction is a guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful, free, and happy life will be translated into reality. For all its unevenness, complexity, and contradictoriness, mankind's movement toward socialism and communism is inexorable.

PART TWO. THE CPSU'S TASKS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIALISM AND THE GRADUAL TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM

I. The Communist Perspective of the USSR and the Need To Accelerate Socioeconomic Development

The CPSU's ultimate goal is the building [postroyeniye] of communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two successive phases of the single communist formation. There is no sharp boundary between them: the development of socialism, the increasingly full revelation of its potential and advantages, and the consolidation of its inherent general communist principles in fact signify society's real advance toward communism.

Communism is a classless social system with the unified ownership of the means of production by the entire people, with full social equality for all members of the society where production forces will grow alongside people's all-around development on the basis of constantly developing science and technology, all sources of public wealth will merge in a full stream and the great principle "from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs" will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free and aware workers in which social self-management will be asserted, labor for the benefit of society will become the first vital requirement and conscious need for everyone, and each person's abilities will be used to the people's greatest benefit.

Communism's material-technical base presupposes the creation of production forces which open up opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible requirements of society and the individual. All production activity under the conditions of communism will be built on the use of highly effective technical means and technologies and man's harmonious interaction with nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communist formation, the directly social nature of labor and production will be asserted in full. As a result of the definitive overcoming of vestiges of the old division of labor and the connected substantial social differences, the process of the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism marks the transformation of the system of the people's socialist self-management and of socialist democracy into the highest form of society's organization — communist social self-management. As the necessary socioeconomic and ideological prerequisites develop and all citizens are enlisted to management, given the existence of the appropriate international conditions, the socialist state, as Lenin predicted, will increasingly become the "transitional form from state to non-state." The activity of state organs will acquire a nonpolitical nature and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

An inalienable feature of the communist tenor of life is a high standard of awareness, public activeness, discipline, and self-discipline on the part of the members of society whereby the observance of the same universally accepted rules of communist

intercourse will become an innate need and habit for every person.

Communism is a social system in which the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not set the aim of anticipating in every detail the features of full communism. As we advance toward it and as experience in building communism is accumulated, scientific notions of the supreme phase of the new society will be enriched and given concrete form.

Socialism's development into communism is defined by the objective laws of the development of society, which have to be considered. Experience shows that any attempts to rush ahead and to introduce communist principles without a consideration for society's level of material and spiritual maturity are doomed to fail and may generate economic and political losses.

At the same time the CPSU proceeds from the premise that dilatoriness cannot be allowed in implementing urgent transformations and resolving new tasks. The party believes that in the seventies and early eighties, alongside the undoubted successes that were achieved, there were certain unfavorable tendencies and difficulties. They are connected to a considerable degree with the fact that changes in the economic situation and the need for in-depth transformations in all spheres of life were not promptly and properly assessed and due persistence was not displayed in their implementation. This prevented the fuller utilization of the potential and advantages of the socialist system and held back our advance.

The CPSU believes that under present-day domestic and international conditions, Soviet society's all-around progress and advance toward communism can and must be ensured on the paths of **the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development**. That is the party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative transformation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society: the fundamental renovation of its material-technical base on the basis of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; the improvement of social relations and above all of economic relations; in-depth changes in the content and nature of labor and of the material and spiritual conditions of people's lives; and the activation of the entire system of political, social, and ideological institutions.

The party connects the successful solution of the projected tasks with **the enhanced role of the human factor.** Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the masses' creative activity in all spheres of social life. The greater the scale of the historical goals, then the more important it is that millions should, with a proprietorial interest, take a responsible, aware, and active part in their achievement.

On the basis of accelerating socioeconomic development, Soviet society must scale new heights, which means:

In **the economic field** — the raising of the national economy to a fundamentally new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level and its transition to an intensive development footing; the attainment of the highest world level of social labor productivity, output quality, and production efficiency; the ensuring of the optimum structure and balance for the country's unified national economic complex; a considerable improvement to the standard of socialization of labor and production; and the approximation of kolkhoz and cooperative ownership to ownership by all the people and in the long term the merging of the two.

In **the social field** — the ensuring of a qualitatively new standard for the people's prosperity while consistently implementing the socialist principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor;" the creation of a basically classless structure of society and the erasing of the major socioeconomic and cultural and consumer differences between city and countryside; the increasingly organic union of physical and mental labor in production activity; the Soviet people's further cohesion as a social and international community; the masses' high standard of creative energy and initiative;

In **the political field** — the development of the people's socialist self-management through the increasingly full involvement of citizens in the management of state and public affairs, the improvement of the activity of the elected organs of people's power, the enhanced role of trade unions, the Komsomol, and the working people's other mass organizations, and the effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

In **the field of spiritual life** — the further consolidation of socialist ideology in Soviet people's consciousness, the full assertion of the moral principles of socialism and the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, the provision of access for the broadest masses of the population to the achievements of science and the values of culture, and the formation of a comprehensively developed individual.

The result of these transformations will be a qualitatively new state for Soviet society — what Lenin called "whole socialism," [tselnyy sotsializm] which fully reveals the new system's tremendous advantages in all spheres of life. A historic step forward will thus be taken on the path toward the supreme phase of communism. The party will constantly correlate its policy, economic and social strategy, and tasks of organizational and ideological work to the communist perspective.

II. The Party's Economic Strategy

The task set by the party of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development requires profound shifts first and foremost in that decisive sphere of human activity — the economy. A sharp turn toward production intensification must be implemented and each enterprise and each sector must be reoriented toward the complete and priority utilization of the qualitative factors of economic growth. The transition to a more highly organized and more highly efficient economy with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations and a well adjusted economic mechanism must be ensured. Before the end of the year 2000 the country's production potential must be doubled and fundementally qualitatively renewed.

The party and the people are resolving these tasks under con-

ditions of the further deepening of the scientific and technical revolution, which has a powerful influence on all aspects of modern production, on the entire system of social relations, and on man himself and the environment he enhabits and opens new prospects for considerably increasing labor productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

Socialism's historic vocation is to place the achievements of advanced science and the most sophisticated and powerful technology at the service of building communism and thereby provide a firm material base for the implementation of the CPSU's main program goals — the rapid growth of the people's prosperity and the comprehensive development of man and the strengthening of our motherland's economic and defense might.

Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress Is the Main lever for improving Production Efficiency

The fundemental question of the party's economic strategy is to cardinally accelerate scientific and technical progress. We are faced with **implementing a new technical reconstruction of the national economy** and on that basis transforming society's material and technical base.

The rapid **renewal of the production apparatus on the basis of advanced technology** and the widespread introduction of the most progressive technological processes and flexible production systems making it possible to switch swiftly to production of new outputs and providing the greatest economic and social effect is of paramount importance. Comprehensive mechanization must be completed in all sectors of the production and nonproduction sphere and a major step must be taken in the automatiuon of production with the transition to automated sops and enterprises and automated control and design systems. The electrification , chemicalization, robotization, and computerization of production will be carried out on an increasingly wide scale, as will be the application of biotechnology.

The party will promote in every way possible the further buildup and efficient utilization of the country's **scientific and technical potential** and the development of scientific research that opens new opportunities for major revolutionary shifts in economic intensification. The universal introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology into production, management, and the service and leisure spheres must be ensured. Science will fully become a direct productive force.

On the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the fundamental transformations in equipment and technology, and the mobilization of all technical, organizational, economic, and social factors a considerable **increase in labor productivity,** without which, as V.I. Lenin taught, "the final transition to communism is impossible," must be achieved. It is planned to increase labor productivity by 230-250 percent over the next 15 years as an important landmark along the road to the highest labor productivity.

It is necessary to make maximum use of the reserves of labor productivity growth at each association, enterprise, and workplace. It is necessary to struggle actively to reduce the labor-intensiveness of articles, to reduce losses of worktime, to introduce the latest equipment and technology, to strengthen order and discipline, to improve norm setting, to make extensive use of progressive forms of scientific labor organization, to raise production standards, and to strive to ensure that labor collectives become increasingly stable.

Scientific and technical progress must be aimed at radically improving the **utilization of natural resources, raw and other materials, fuel, and energy** at all stages — from the extraction and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the production and utilization of end products. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of reducing the material-, metal-, and energy-intensiveness of national income. Resource-saving will be a decisive source for satisfying the growth in the national economy's requirements for fuel, energy, and raw and other materials.

The party's economic policy will always focus on **raising the technical standard and quality of output** in every possible way. Soviet output must embody the latest achievements of scientific thought, correspond to the highest technical and economic, aesthetic, and other consumer demands, and be competitive in the world market. Improving its quality is a reliable way of more fully satisfying the country's need for necessary articles and the population's growing demand for various goods. Low quality and substandard goods represent a waste of material resources and the people's labor. The party will actively support the struggle for the honor of the Soviet brand. Output quality must be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technical progress depends not only on increasing the production of the latest equipment but also on the **better utilization of fixed capital** and increasing the productivity of each unit of equipment and each square meter of production area. The prevailing trend of a decline in the return on capital must be overcome and an increase in it must be ensured in the future.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress makes ever higher demands on working people's general and vocational education. The line of improving the entire system of training and increasing the qualifications of cadres and systematically ensuring conformity between workplaces and manpower resources in all sectors and regions of the country will be persistently pursued.

The struggle for the comprehensive intensification and rationalization of production and its supreme efficiency on the basis of scientific and technical progress is organically combined under conditions of the planned socialist economic system with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, full employment, and the steady improvement of all aspects of people's lives.

The Structural Reorganization of Social Production

The transition to the path of intensification requires serious **structural changes in the economy. The national economy must** undergo a flexible and timely restructuring in line with the

progressive shifts in science, equipment, technology, and social and individual needs. It is necessary to develop at a higher rate sectors ensuring scientific and technical progress and the successful resolution of social tasks and to seek the optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation and improvements in the proportions between the production of means of production and objects of consumption on the one hand and the agroindustrial complex sectors on the other. The social orientation of the economy will be stepped up and the switch to the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing needs will be consistently implemented.

In this connection new demands are made on **investment policy.** It is called upon to ensure an increase in the effectiveness of capital investments and their concentration in the decisive sectors on which the rapid achievement of the highest national economic effect, the balanced development of the economy, and the obtaining of the greatest growth in output and national income per ruble of expenditure depend. It is necessary to shift the center of gravity away from new construction to the technical retooling and modernization of existing enterprises, to considerably increase the proportion of funds channeled into these goals in the total volume of production capital investment, and to increase the proportion of expenditure on equipment and machines in that investment. The paramount task is to improve the correlation between capital investments in resource-extracting, processing, and consuming sectors and to redistribute funds in favor of sectors that ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The task of turning the USSR's economy into the most sophisticated and powerful in the world requires the further development of **heavy industry** — the foundation of economic might.

The party allots the key role in the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution and the realization of the latest achievements of science and technology to **machine-building.** The acceleration of the pace of Soviet machine-building's growth is the main direction of development for the future and the basis for scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defense capability at the proper level. Machine-building is called upon to produce systems and complexes of machines, equipment, and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards, systems and complexes that ensure revolutionary changes in technology and the organization of production, manifold increases in labor productivity, reductions in material- and energy-intensiveness, improvements in output quality, and growth in return on capital. Machine tool building, the electrical equipment industry, microelectronics, computer equipment, instrument-making, and the entire information technology industry — the genuine catalysts of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress — must receive priority development.

It is necessary to strengthen the potential of and implement a qualitative shift in metallurgy, the chemical industry, and other sectors of heavy industry that produce **structural materials,** to constantly expand the range and improve the quality of materials, and to increase the output of the most economic and progressive new types of these materials.

A most important task is to efficiently develop **the country's fuel and energy complex.** The steady satisfaction of the country's growing needs for all types of fuel and energy requires the improvement of the structure of the fuel and energy balance, the accelerated boosting of the nuclear power industry, the extensive utilization of renewable sources of energy, and consistent and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of the economy.

An indispensable condition of the country's socioeconomic progress is to further strengthen and enhance the efficiency of the **agro-industrial complex and to fully satisfy the country's needs** for its products. Agriculture's switch to an industrial basis must be completed, scientific farming systems and intensive techniques must be introduced everywhere, land utilization must be improved and its fertility increased, considerable growth in the yields of all agricultural crops and in livestock productivity must be ensured, the feed base must be strengthened, the stability of agricultural production must be ensured, its dependence on unfavorable natural and climatic conditions must be reduced, and losses of the harvest that is produced must be precluded. Agro-industrial integration will be stepped up, and the technology, techniques, and organization of the production, procurement, transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial associations, which constitute the basis of socialist agriculture, are called upon to make a decisive contribution to meeting the country's needs for agricultural produce. At the same time, enterprises' subsidiary farms and citizens' private plots, collective horticulture, and truck farming will be used to supplement the country's food resources.

The CPSU will channel efforts into ensuring accelerated growth of the production of **consumer goods and the entire services sphere** in the interests of the all-around satisfaction of the Soviet people's needs. Enterprises, associations, and organizations in all sectors of the national economy must be involved in this.

The party allots an important role in improving the country's unified national economic complex to retooling and increasing the efficiency of the work of all sectors of the **production infrastructure** — the electricity, oil, and gas supply systems, communications, and information support for the national economy. Special attention must be devoted to developing a unified transportation system, improving all its components, and creating a ramified network of roads with all necessary amenities.

With a view to intensifying the economy and accelerating scientific and technical progress, the technical and economic standard of **construction** must be substantially improved, construction work must be turned into a unified industrial process, the quality of project and construction work must be increased and its cost reduced, and the time taken to construct projects and assimilate production capacities must be shortened.

The party will continue to devote unremitting attention to improving the **siting of productive forces,** which must ensure savings in social labor and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of each region of the country. On the basis of the deepening of the social division of labor, the national economies

of all union republics will be further developed and their contribution to satisfying the entire country's needs will increase. The structure of existing territorial production complexes and economic ties must be further improved and enterprises engaged in the processing of raw materials must be sited as close as possible to the areas where these materials are extracted. It is necessary to make fuller use of the potential of small- and medium-sized towns and worker settlements by siting in them specialized production facilities linked with the production of output under production sharing agreements with large enterprises and with the processing of agricultural and local raw materials and the provision of services to the population.

The accelerated development of the productive forces of **Siberia and the Far East** has been and continues to be part and parcel of the party's economic strategy. Strictly ensuring the comprehensive solution of production tasks and developing the entire social infrastructure in the interests of improving people's working and living conditions are of particular economic and political importance in opening up new regions.

In defining the prospects for national economic development the CPSU proceeds from the need to improve **foreign economic strategy**, and to make fuller use of the potential of the mutually advantageous international division of labor and, first and foremost, of the advantages of socialist economic integration. Foreign economic, scientific, and technical ties will be deepened and progressive structural shifts will be implemented in exports and imports in the interests of improving national economic efficiency and ensuring independence from capitalist countries in strategically important avenues.

Improving Socialist Production Relations, The Management System, and Economic Management Methods

The party sees the constant improvement of production relations, the maintenance of a stable correlation between them and the dynamically developing production forces, and the prompt exposure and resolution of the nonantagonistic contradictions which arise between them as necessary preconditions of the acceleration of society's socioeconomic progress.

The party's attention will continue to be centered on the **strengthening and augmentation of social ownership of the means of production**, which is the basis of socialism's economic system. It is necessary to further increase the level of socialization of production and its planned organization and to steadily improve the forms and methods of realization of the advantages and potential of ownersip by the whole people.

The boosting of agriculture's production forces and the development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration will promote the further rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership with ownership by the whole people. This process will take place as a result of the all-around development and strengthening of the two forms of socialist ownership and the increasingly full realization of the potential of the kolkhoz-cooperative sector of the economy.

The party will persistently develop in the labor collectives and in every working person a sense of proprietorship in relation to public property and will adopt all the necessary measures to protect socialist property, cut short any attempts to use it for self-interested purposes, eradicate forms of appropriation of goods which are alien to socialism, and safeguard the citizens' constitutional right to personal property.

The party attaches great significance to **improving distribution relations**, which have an active influence on the growth of collective and personal interest in the development of social production and on people's standard of living and way of life. The line of ensuring the most efficient distribution of the social product and national income and of ensuring that the machinery of distribution is a reliable barrier to unearned income and to leveling in labor remuneration — to everything that is contrary to the norms and principles of the socialist society — will be consistently pursued. It is necessary to exercise strict control of the extent of labor and consumption, to step up the interest of collectives and of every worker in the attainment of the best national economic results, and to skillfully combine moral and material incentives for labor activity.

The further development of the **relations of exchange** is an urgent task. It is necessary to increase the reliability of economic ties, seek a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and monetary resources, and accelerate the turnover of circulating capital. It is necessary to make fuller use of the money-goods relationship in accordance with the new content which is inherent in it under socialism, to strengthen the credit system, to increase the purchasing power of the ruble, to strengthen the thrift policy and the monitoring of the quantity and quality of work, and to use more fully and effectively the entire arsenal of economic levers and incentives.

The acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development requires the constant **improvement of leadership of the national economy** and the reliable and efficient functioning of the economic machinery, which incorporates diverse, flexible forms and methods of economic management, seeking to ensure that these conform to the changing conditions of economic development and the nature of the tasks being resolved.

The improvement of management should be based on the more profound, comprehensive utilization of the advantages and potential of the socialist planned system of the economy and economic laws and should take full account of changes in production forces and production relations and the rise in the level of education, consciousness, skills, and experience of the broad masses of working people. It is called upon to ensure the optimum combination of personal interests and the interests of labor collectives and various social groups on the one hand and the interests of the whole state and the whole people on the other, and thus to utilize those interests as the motive force for economic growth.

The entire management system must be oriented toward increasing the contribution of each component of the national economy to the attainment of the final goal — the fullest possible satisfaction of society's requirements with the lowest possible expenditure of all types of resources. This is an essential law of

socialist economic management and a basic criterion in assessing the activity of sectors, associations and enterprises, and all production cells.

It is necessary to ensure the consistent implementation of Leninist management principles and above all the principle of **democratic centralism, which expresses the unity of its two bases** — both increasing the effectiveness of centralized leadership, and significantly extending the economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management organs should be concentrated to an ever increasing degree on the resolution of the strategic tasks of economic and social development and the practical implementation of an integrated policy in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and capital investments, structural shifts in the national economy, the proportionality of social production and the strengthening of the system of planned statewide reserves, the siting of production forces, labor remuneration and social security, prices, tariffs, finance, accounting, and statistics.

The party considers it necessary to increase the effectiveness of **planning as an instrument for the realization of its economic** policy. Planning is called upon to be an active lever for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, and the implementation of progressive economic decisions, and to ensure balanced and dynamic economic growth. A leading place in the plans should belong to qualitative indicators which reflect the efficiency of utilization of resources, the scale of renewal of output, and the growth of labor productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. It is necessary to resolve economic and social tasks comprehensively, to organically combine long-term, 5-year, and annual plans, to make planning more scientific, to strengthen plan discipline, to ensure that statewide interests take priority, and to resolutely cut short any manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, bureaucracy, and voluntarism.

In developing centralized principles in management and planning and the resolution of strategic tasks, the party will actively implement **measures to increase the role of the basic production component** — associations and enterprises — and consistently pursue the line of extending their rights and economic autonomy and stepping up their responsibility and interest in the attainment of high end results. The center of gravity of all day-to-day economic work should be on the spot — in the labor collectives.

The party deems it necessary to further develop and increase the effectiveness of **financial autonomy** and to ensure the consistent transition of enterprises and associations to full financial autonomy, strengthening the economic levers and reducing the number of indicators set by higher organizations. The activity of associations and enterprises will be governed increasingly by long-term economic normatives which offer scope for initiative and creativity on the part of labor collectives. Measures to improve management from above should be organically combined with the development of collective forms of labor organization and incentives from below. The system of levers and incentives should give real advantages to labor collectives which achieve successes in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, produce better output, and increase the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to dispose of the resources they earn for the purposes of developing production, providing material incentives for the collective, and resolving social questions will increase.

Wholesale trade will be extended, the role of direct ties and economic contracts between consumer enterprises and the manufacturers of output will be increased, and the consumer's influence on the technical standard and quality of output will be strengthened.

Pricing should be improved, so that prices more accurately reflect the level of socially necessary expenditure as well as the quality of products and services, more actively stimulate scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, the improvement of the technical, economic, and consumer properties of articles, and the introduction of everything that is new and advanced, and help to strengthen the thrift policy.

The CPSU sets the task of consistently implementing measures to improve the **organizational structure of management** of the national economy at all levels, reducing the management apparatus, and eliminating superfluous components. It is necessary to improve the management of major national economic complexes and groups of interconnected and similar sectors, to seek the rational combination of large, medium, and small enterprises and of sector and territorial management, to extend the network and improve the work of production and science-and-production associations, to deepen specialization, and to develop integration and production sharing.

The attention of intersectorial and sectorial management organs will be concentrated on the most important avenues of the sectors' development and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. They should bear the responsibility for the full satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy and the population for output in the range and product mix laid down. There will be an increase in the role and responsibility of republic and local organs in the management of economic and sociocultural building and the satisfaction of the working people's needs, and these organs' rights will be extended.

In all the work to improve leadership of the economy, the CPSU will consistently pursue a line of developing **the working people's creative initiative and involving them increasingly fully in the production management process** and of increasing the labor collectives' role in the elaboration of plans, the adoption of economic decisions, and the implementation of measures relating to the socioeconomic development of enterprises and to seeking out and mobilizing internal production reserves. Thrift, the skillful expenditure of the people's resources, the rational use of every ruble, the eradication of waste, and the elimination of various nonproductive types of expenditure and losses — this is the cause of the whole party and the whole people, the cause of every labor collective and every worker.

The development of **socialist competition** is the subject of the party's constant attention. This is a most important sphere for the development of the working people's creativity and one of the

basic means of self-assertion and social recognition for the individual. On the basis of Leninist principles, it is necessary to improve the organization and enhance the effectiveness of competition, eradicate formalism and stereotyped approaches, disseminate leading experience more widely, bring the laggards up to the frontrunners' level, and develop the spirit of initiative, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance. Very great significance is attached to supporting in every way the masses' initiative and creativity aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, increasing labor productivity, ensuring the thrifty use of resources, enhancing production efficiency and output quality, reducing the prime cost of output, ensuring an efficient labor rhythm and the prompt fulfillment of contract commitments, and achieving the best national economic end results.

III. The Party's Social Policy

The party regards social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's development, boosting the masses' labor and sociopolitical activeness, molding the new person, and establishing the socialist way of life, and as an important factor in society's political stability. The party proceeds on the basis that its influence on economic growth, on increasing the economy's efficiency, and on all spheres of public life will be strengthened. The CPSU regards unremitting concern for the resolution of the social questions of labor, everyday life, and culture and for the satisfaction of people's interests and needs as a law of the activity of all state and economic organs and public organizations.

The party advances as the **main tasks of its social policy:**

— Steadily improving Soviet people's living and working conditions;

— Implementing increasingly fully the principle of social justice in all fundamental spheres of social relations;

— Effecting the rapprochement of classes and social groups and strata and overcoming the substantial differences between mental and physical labor and city and countryside;

— Perfecting national relations and strengthening the fraternal friendship of all the country's nations and ethnic groups.

Increasing The Prosperity and Improving The Working and Living Conditions of Soviet People

The production and spiritual potential created in the country and the requirements of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development make possible an essential substantial progress toward achieving the **"complete** prosperity and free **comprehensive development of all members of society" (Lenin).**

The CPSU sets the task of raising Soviet people's prosperity to a qualitatively new level and ensuring a level and structure of consumption of material, social, and cultural benefits that will correspond to the greatest extent to the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the fullest revelation of the Soviet people's abilities, gifts, and talents in the interests of society.

Already in the next 5-year period it is planned to double the volume of resources aimed at satisfying the people's requirements.

The party attaches particular significance to intensifying the creative content and collectivist nature of labor, raising its standard [kultura], and encouraging highly skilled and highly productive work for the benefit of society. All this will promote the gradual transformation of labor into a prime necessity of life for every Soviet person.

Another task which lies ahead is to continue to implement a package of scientific, technical, economic, and social measures ensuring full and effective employment for the population and enabling all able-bodied citizens to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with their vocation, abilities, education, and professional training taking societal requirements into account.

The line aimed at considerably reducing manual labor, substantially reducing and, in the long term, eliminating monotonous, heavy physical and low-skilled labor, ensuring healthy sanitary and hygiene conditions, and introducing sophisticated safety equipment eliminating accidents at work and occupational diseases will be consistently pursued. The intensification and growth of the efficiency of production and the growth of labor productivity will open up new opportunities in the long term for shortening the working day and increasing the length of working people's paid leave.

The party will continue to do everything necessary to steadily increase working people's real incomes and further improve the prosperity of all strata and social groups in accordance with the country's economic potential.

Labor remuneration remains the basic source of working people's income throughout the first phase of communism. It is necessary to constantly improve the wages system so that it takes fully into account the quantity and quality of labor and its conditions and results and promotes the growth of working people's skill and labor productivity, the improvement of output quality, and the saving of all types of resources. It is on precisely this basis that working people's wages and living standards must grow. The level of minimum wages will increase and the line aimed at reducing taxes on the population will be continued in line with the growth of public wealth. The party attaches fundamental significance to resolutely eradicating unearned income, any deviations from socialist principles of distribution, antisocial forms of redistributing incomes and benefits, parasitism, and speculation.

There will be a continuation of the accelerated growth and improvement of the distribution of **social consumption funds,** which are called upon to play an increasing role in developing the statewide systems for free public education, health care, and social welfare and in improving working people's leisure conditions, to alleviate the differences in the material situation of

individual citizens, families, and social groups that are objectively inevitable under socialism, to equalize socioeconomic and cultural conditions for raising children, and to promote the elimination of the lack of affluence [maloobespechennost] of individual groups of the population.

A task of priority importance is to **fully satisfy the population's growing demand for high-quality and diverse consumer goods** — food products, good-quality and attractive clothing and footwear, furniture, cultural items, and complex household equipment and domestic appliances.

Trade and public catering will be further developed. Their material and technical base will be strengthened and the standard of service will rise. The consumer cooperative system, which is called upon to improve trade in the countryside and organize the purchase from the population and marketing of agricultural products, will also be further developed. The kolkhoz market will retain its significance. A retail price policy will be pursued in the interests of increasing the population's real incomes.

It is planned to implement major measures to create a **modern highly-developed services sphere.** An increase in the volume, expansion of the range, and improvement in the quality of services will make it possible to satisfy more fully the population's growing requirements for diverse forms of housing, municipal, transport, consumer, social, and cultural services, alleviate housework, and create better conditions for relaxation, the meaningful use of free time, and full leisure. There will be accelerated development of the services sphere in rural localities and newly opened-up areas.

Accelerating the solution of the **housing problem** so that practically every Soviet family has separate housing — an apartment or individual house — by the year 2000 is regarded by the party as a matter of particular social significance. The large scale of housing construction out of state funds, the broader development of cooperative and individual construction, and also the modernization, updating, and improvement of the condition of the housing stock and the intensification of monitoring of its distribution are called upon to promote this. Particular attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, the improvement of comfort levels, the improvement of layout, and the improvement of provision of equipment in apartments and houses.

Higher demands will be made of the architecture, aesthetic appearance, and amenity level of urban and rural settlements. They must constitute a rational integrated organization of production zones, residential areas, and a network of social, cultural, and educational establishments, sports facilities, trade and consumer service enterprises, and transportation ensuring the best conditions for people's labor, everyday life, and leisure. The practice of enlisting funds from the population to improve housing, cultural, and everyday life conditions, leisure, and tourism and for other purposes will be expanded.

The **improvement of Soviet people's health** and the lengthening of their active life is a matter of priority importance. The party sets the task of ubiquitously and fully satisfying the urban and rural inhabitants' requirements for all types of highly skilled medical services and radically improving the quality. To this end it is planned to introduce a system of universal medical checkups for the population; further develop the network of mother and child health protection institutions, health centers, hospitals, and sanatoriums, and equip them with modern medical apparatus; and ensure full provision of medical, treatment, and sanitary and hygiene resources.

The significance of **physical culture and sport and their introduction into daily life** in improving the population's health, harmoniously developing the individual, and preparing young people for labor and the defense of the motherland is increasing. Matters must be organized in such a way that from his youth every person is concerned to improve himself physically, has a knowledge of the field of hygiene and medical assistance, and leads a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches tremendous state significance to **intensifying concern for the family**. The family is playing an increasingly important role in improving the health of and educating the rising generations, ensuring society's economic and social progress, and improving demographic processes. It is here that the fundamentals of a person's character and his attitude toward labor and toward the most important moral, ideological, and cultural values are shaped. Society has a vital interest in a solid and spiritually and morally healthy family. Proceeding from this, the party considers it essential to pursue a line aimed at strengthening the family and assisting it in fulfilling its social functions and rearing children and to expand the measures aimed at improving the material, housing, and everyday living conditions of families with many children as well as young families. It is necessary to deepen the interaction of family, school, and labor collective and to increase parents' responsibility for educating children.

The further improvement of the position of mothers is a subject of the party's constant concern. To this end favorable conditions will be created for combining motherhood with active participation by women in labor and social activity. Particular attention will be devoted to mother and child protection, and the length of antenatal leave and also child-care leave will be increased. The network of sanatoriums, rest homes, and boardinghouses for family vacations will be expanded. Diverse forms of labor employment for women will be developed, and flexible working schedules and incomplete workdays will be applied on a broader scale in accordance with women's wishes.

A broad package of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for rearing the rising generation. In the very near future the population's requirements for children's establishments will already be fully satisfied. The network of Young Pioneer, labor, and sports camps, Young Pioneer centers, and scientific, technical, and artistic creativity centers and stations will be expanded. Catering expenditure norms will be raised in preschool establishments and vocational and technical educational establishments.

The party stresses the need to considerably **intensify the attention devoted to young people's social problems** and, first and foremost, to satisfy more fully their requirements in the sphere of labor and everyday life, education and culture, professional and vocational

growth, and the rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to display constant **concern to improve the material situation of labor and war veterans**, elderly people, invalids, and the families of deceased servicemen and to provide social, medical, and cultural services for them. Pensions, primarily minimum and previously designated pensions, will be raised periodically. Pension provision for kolkhoz members will gradually move closer to the level established for workers and employees. The network of residential homes for elderly and disabled people will be developed, and maintenance conditions in them will be improved. The broadening of opportunities for labor veterans with great experience to participate as far as they are able in labor activity and in public life and educational work is a matter of great socioeconomic importance.

The harmonious interaction of society and nature, man and the environment, is assuming increasing significance in the improvement of the people's life. Socialist society, which builds its future in a conscious manner, engages in plan-governed and solicitous use of nature and occupies vanguard positions in mankind's struggle to preserve and augment the world's natural resources. The party considers it necessary to intensify the monitoring of the use of nature and to develop ecological education of the population on a broader scale.

Overcoming Class Differences, Forming a Socially Homogeneous Society

An important natural law of the development of social relations at the present stage is **the rapprochement of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia and the establishment of a classless structure for society with the decisive role in this process belonging to the working class.**

The political experience of the working class, its high degree of awareness and organization, and its will cement our entire society. The improvement of the general educational, cultural, and professional standard of the working class and the growth of its labor and sociopolitical activeness enhance its vanguard role in the improvement of socialism and in the entire process of communist building.

During the consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy agricultural labor is transformed into a form of industrial labor and the substantial social and cultural and daily living differences between the city and the countryside are erased. The way of life and nature of the labor of the peasantry are becoming increasingly similar to the way of life and nature of the labor of the working class. The overcoming of differences between these classes and the assertion of a society without classes in our country will take place mainly within the historical framework of the first, socialist, phase of the communist formation.

The revolutionary transformations in productive forces are leading to an increase in the proportion of mental labor in the activity of the broadest masses of workers and kolkhoz members. At the same time the numerical strength of the intelligentsia is increasing and their creative contribution to material production and other spheres of social life is growing. All this is helping to gradually erase the substantial differences between physical and mental labor and to bring all social groups closer. The complete overcoming of these differences and the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed at the highest phase of communism.

The CPSU will help by every means the overcoming of class and social differences. At the same time, as long as these differences exist, the party considers it a matter of paramount importance to take careful account in its policy of the special features of the interests of classes and social groups. Great attention will be paid to equalizing the working and daily living conditions of the population of different regions of the country.

In the social structure of Soviet society **there is an increase in the role of the labor collectives.** The party is seeking to help to ensure by every means that every labor collective becomes an effective social cell of socialist people's self-management, the working people's daily and real participation in the solution of questions of the work of their enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and the development and augmentation of the individual's creative forces. It considers it essential to purposefully intensify the labor collectives' influence on all spheres of the life of society and at the same time to raise their responsibility for the solution of specific tasks of economic, social, and cultural development.

Further Flowering and Rapprochement of the Socialist Nations and Ethnic Groups

In its activity the CPSU comprehensively considers Soviet society's multinational nature. The results of the path that has been traveled convincingly attest that **the nationalities question inherited from the past has been successfully resolved in the Soviet Union.** National relations in Soviet society are characterized by the further flowering of nations and ethnic groups and their steady rapprochement, which is taking place on the basis of voluntariness, equality, and fraternal cooperation. Any artificial pushing or curbing of ripe objective trends of development is inadmissible here. This development entails, in the remote historical future, the complete unity of nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that in our multinational socialist state, in the process of the joint labor and life of over 100 nations and ethnic groups, **new tasks in improving national relations** naturally arise. The party has resolved and will continue to resolve them on the basis of the tested principles of Lenin's nationalities policy. It sets the following basic tasks in this field:

— The comprehensive consolidation and development of the multinational Soviet state. The CPSU will continue to strengthen our unified, union, multinational state, to struggle consistently against any manifestations of parochialism and national narrowness, and at the same time display constant concern for the further enhancement of the role of the republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs in resolving nationwide tasks and for the active participation of working people of all nationalities in the work of the organs of power and management. The forms of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations will be

enriched on the basis of the creative application of Lenin's principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism in the interests of the entire Soviet people and of each nation and ethnic group;

— The buildup of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of a unified national economic complex. The combination of the initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs with centralized management on an all-union scale makes it possible to make rational use of the resources of the entire country and local natural and other features. It is essential consistently to intensify the division of labor between republics, to equalize their conditions of economic management, to encourage republics' active participation in the economic development of new regions, to develop the interrepublican exchange of worker and specialist cadres, and to expand and improve the training of skilled workers from among the citizens of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republics;

— The development of the Soviet people's single culture, socialist in content, diverse in its national forms, and internationalist in spirit, on the basis of the best achievements and unique progressive traditions of the USSR peoples. The growth and rapprochement of national cultures and the consolidation of their mutual links make their mutual enrichment even more fruitful and open up before Soviet people the broadest opportunities for access to everything of value generated by the talent of each of our country's peoples.

The free development of their native languages and their use on an equal basis by all citizens of the USSR will continue to be ensured. At the same time the mastering, alongside the language of their nationality, of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by Soviet people as the means of inter-nation communication, expands their access to the achievements of science, technology, and our own and world culture.

The party proceeds from the premise that the consistent pursuit of Lenin's nationalities policy and the all-around consolidation of the friendship of the peoples are a component of the improvement of socialism and a path, tested by social practice, toward the further flowering of our multinational socialist motherland.

IV. The Development of Soviet Society's Political System

The dictatorship of the proletariat established as a result of the socialist revolution played a decisive role in the creation of the new society. During this process it itself underwent changes. With the elimination of the exploiter classes the function it had fulfilled of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually disappeared and the implementation of its main, creative tasks developed with full force. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a political organization of all the working people and the proletarian state developed into a state of the whole people. This is the main instrument for the improvement of socialism in our country, and in the international arena it performs the functions of defending socialist gains, consolidating world socialism's positions, opposing the aggressive policy of imperialist forces, and developing peaceful cooperation with all peoples.

The CPSU believes that at the present stage the strategic line of the development of society's political system lies in improving Soviet democracy and increasingly fully implementing socialist people's self-management via the daily, active, and effective participation of working people, their collectives, and their organizations in resolving questions of state and social life.

The leading force in this process is the party — the nucleus of Soviet society's political system. All other components of this system — the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the cooperative and other social organizations reflecting the unity and distinctive identity of the interests of all strata of the population and all the country's nations and nationalities — function under its leadership. Operating within the framework of the constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of state and social organizations and is concerned to ensure that each of them fully performs its distinctive functions. By all its activity the party sets an example of service to the people's interests and observance of the principles of socialist democratism.

The party is concerned to ensure that the principles of socialist people's self-management are consistently implemented in the management of society and the state, that is, to ensure that management not only is implemented in the working people's interests but also in a law-governed fashion, step by step, becomes the direct concern of the working people themselves, who, in Lenin's words, are conscious of no power over themselves except the power of their own association.

The party will continue to contribute to ensuring that citizens' socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms are expanded and enriched and that increasingly favorable conditions for and guarantees of their full implementation are created. Soviet people possess every opportunity to express and implement their civic will and interests and enjoy all the benefits that socialism gives them. Soviet citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from their execution of their constitutional duties. There are no rights without duties and no duties without rights — that is the immutable political principle of socialist society. The CPSU will continue to seek persistently to ensure that every Soviet person is educated in the spirit of a clear understanding of the unity of his rights, freedoms, and duties.

The key question of the party's policy is **the development and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state** and the increasingly full revelation of its democratic, all-people's character.

The CPSU shows constant concern for comprehensively improving the activity of the soviets of people's deputies — the political foundation of the USSR and the main component in socialist people's self-management. The party attaches great importance to improving forms of popular representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring the free and comprehensive discussion of candidate deputies' personal and professional qualities so that the worthiest and most authoritative people are elected to the soviets. In order to improve

the work of the soviets and produce an influx of new forces into them, and in order to ensure that further millions of working people pass through the school of state management, the composition of soviet deputies will be systematically renewed in elections.

The CPSU seeks to contribute to ensuring that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union republic supreme soviets consistently improve legislation and efficiently solve key problems of domestic and foreign policy, actively lead the soviets of people's deputies, and check the work of the organs accountable to them. The role of local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of regions, in independently resolving tasks of local importance, and in coordinating and monitoring the activity of the organizations located on their territory will continue to increase.

It is necessary to create all the conditions for ensuring that Lenin's directions regarding the soviets as organs that not only make decisions but also ensure the organization and verification of their execution are rigorously observed. Democratic work principles must be increasingly fully implemented in the activity of soviets of all levels: the collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions; publicity; self-criticism and criticism; regular reporting and the responsibility of deputies, up to and including the early recall of those who have not vindicated voters' trust; monitoring of the work of executive and other organs; the widespread involvement of citizens in participation in management.

The party will unswervingly pursue the line of **democratizing management and the process of formulating and adopting state decisions**, a line which ensures that the optimum versions of them are chosen and that the various opinions and proposals submitted by meetings of labor collectives and also of citizens at their place of residence are taken into account and collated. The most important bills and decisions will be referred to nationwide discussion and voting. The range of questions on which decisions can be made only after discussion in labor collectives, in soviet standing commissions, and in trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations will be expanded. The system for the generalization and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' statements and proposals and for the study of public opinion must be further improved and the population's level of information regarding decisions and the results of their implementation must be increased.

The CPSU attaches great importance to improving the work of the state apparatus and all management organs. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It must be well qualified and efficient. It is necessary to seek to simplify and reduce the cost of the management apparatus and to eliminate overstaffing, persistently eradicate displays of bureaucratism and formalism, departmentalism, and parochialism, and to get rid of incompetent and unenterprising personnel without delay. Unscrupulousness, the abuse of official position, careerism, the desire for personal enrichment, nepotism, and protectionism must be resolutely suppressed and sternly punished.

The party believes that it is necessary to strictly observe the principle of the accountability of the personnel of state organs and to expand, where expedient, the elective and competitive systems of filling posts. Collegiality must be consistently implemented in the work of the relevant components of the state apparatus along with the personal responsibility of each leader, and the objective assessment of personnel on the basis of their practical actions and the effective monitoring of the actual fulfillment of decisions must be ensured.

The CPSU will actively help to increase the effectiveness of **people's control. It regards working people's work in people's** control organs as an important way of developing their political maturity and activeness in defending the people's interests and of instilling a state approach toward matters and a thrifty attitude toward the people's property.

The **strengthening of the legal basis of state and social life**, the unswerving observance of socialist legality and law and order, and the improvement of the work of the people's courts and other organs of justice, of supervision by the prosecutor's office, and of justice and the militia have been and remain a matter of constant concern for the party. State organs must do everything necessary to ensure the safekeeping of socialist property and the protection of citizens' personal property, honor, and dignity, conduct a resolute struggle against crime, prevent any offenses, and eliminate the reasons giving rise to them.

The CPSU regards the defense of the socialist homeland, the strengthening of the country's defense, and the safeguarding of state security as one of the most important functions of the Soviet state of the whole people.

From the viewpoint of internal conditions our society does not need an army. However, as long as the danger that imperialism will unleash aggression, military conflicts, and various kinds of provocations exists it is necessary to pay unremitting attention to reinforcing the USSR's defense might and strengthening its security. The Armed Forces and state security organs must display great vigilance and be always ready to suppress imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies and to rout any aggressor.

The ultimate foundation of the strengthening of the defense of the socialist motherland is the Communist Party's leadership of military building and the Armed Forces. Policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security and Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and is directed toward defense against external attack, are formulated and implemented with the party playing a leading role.

The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level excluding strategic superiority on the part of imperialism's forces, that the Soviet state's defense capability is comprehensively improved, and that the combat collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries' armies is strengthened.

The CPSU will continue to show invariable concern for ensuring that the Soviet Armed Forces' combat potential constitutes a strong fusion of military skill, ideological staunchness, organization and discipline on the part of personnel, their loyalty to their

patriotic and international duty, and a high level of technical equipment.

The CPSU deems it necessary to continue to strengthen its organizing and directing influence on the life and activity of the Armed Forces, to strengthen the principle of one-man command, to enhance the role and influence of Army and Navy political organs and party organizations, and to seek to ensure that the intimate [krovnyy] link between the Army and the people becomes still stronger. Every Communist and every Soviet person must do all in his power to maintain the country's defense capability at the due level. **The defense of the socialist homeland and service in the ranks of the Armed Forces are the USSR citizen's honorable obligation and sacred duty.**

The party attaches prime importance to enhancing the role of social organizations — important components in the system of socialist people's self-management.

The CPSU sets it as its task to promote the constant growth of the prestige and influence of **trade unions** — the most mass working people's organization, a school of management, a school of economic management, and a school of communism. The trade unions are called upon to consistently fulfill their main functions: contributing in every possible way to augmenting the people's wealth and to improving people's working, daily living, and leisure conditions, defending working people's rights and interests, constantly engaging in the communist education of the masses, involving them in the management of production and social affairs, and strengthening conscious labor discipline.

Trade union organizations must take a more active part in developing socialist people's self-management and in resolving fundamental questions of state, economic, and cultural building, cooperate more closely with the soviets and other working people's organizations, raise the standard of socialist competition and of the propaganda and introduction of advanced experience, develop public forms of monitoring the observance of the principles of social justice, and help implement the powers of labor collectives.

The CPSU rightly regards **the all-union Lenin Komsomol** — a sociopolitical organization with many millions of members — as its loyal assistant and reliable reserve. The party will continue to increase the Komsomol's role in educating the rising generation and in practically resolving the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In implementing leadership of the Komsomol, the CPSU pays particular attention to the organizational and political strengthening of its ranks and of the independent [samodeyatelnyy] nature of the youth league. The Komsomol must persistently develop the labor and social activeness of young men and women and mold in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, political and moral standards, and an awareness of their historic responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace.

The party seeks to improve the activity of **cooperatives** — kolkhozes and consumer cooperatives, housebuilding cooperatives, and cooperative organizations and associations — regarding them as an important form of socialist self-management and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will help to further boost the activeness of **creative unions, scientific, scientific and technical, cultural enlightenment, sports, defense, and other voluntary societies, and organs of the population's social amateur activity**. In performing their functions, these organizations are called upon to make an increasingly great contribution to implementing the party's policy and to show concern for comprehensively expressing and implementing the interests of the working people they unite and for strengthening Soviet people's civic initiative and responsibility.

V. Ideological Education Work, Education, Science, and Culture

The party will do everything necessary in order to make full use of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the country and to perform purposeful work on the ideological-political, labor, and moral education of Soviet people and **on shaping a harmoniously developed, socially active personality combining within itself spiritual richness, moral purity, and physical perfection.** In ideological work, the CPSU considers the chief element to be the nurturing of the working people in a spirit of high moral fiber and devotion to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude toward labor and public property, giving them increasingly full access to the treasures of spiritual culture, and the eradication of morals that are at variance with the socialist way of life.

The party proceeds from the premise that the education of man is inseparable from his practical participation in creative labor for the benefit of the people, in social life, and in the solution of tasks of socioeconomic and cultural building. Separation from reality and from its real problems dooms ideological education work to abstract pedantry [prosvetitelstvo] and vague waffling and leads away from the vital tasks of building communism. Ideological activity must be marked by profundity of ideological-theoretical content and by informativeness on a broad scale, it must fully and precisely take into account the realities of domestic and international life and the heightened requirements of the working people, and it must be close to people, truthful and comprehensible.

Unity of word and deed, the most important principle of all party and state activity, also acts as an indispensable requirement as regards political education work. Active participation in it is an obligation for all leading cadres and the duty of every communist.

The party puts forward the following tasks:

1. In The Sphere of Ideological Education Work

The formation of a scientific world outlook. Socialism has ensured the domination in the spiritual life of Soviet society of a scientific world outlook whose foundation is Marxism-Leninism as an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic, and sociopolitical views. The party considers its most important obligation to be the further creative development of Marxist-

Leninist theory on the basis of the study and generalization of new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, consideration of the experience of the other countries of the socialist community, and of the world communist, workers, national liberation, and democratic movement, and analysis of the achievements of the natural and social sciences.

The CPSU will take constant pains to ensure that all Soviet people have a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist teaching, enhance their political standards [kultura], and consciously participate in drawing up the party's policy and actively translate it into reality.

Labor education. The party places at the focus of educational work the shaping in each Soviet person of a profound respect and readiness for conscientious labor for the common good, be it mental or physical labor. Labor is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society, the main criterion of a person's social prestige, his sacred obligation, and the foundation of the communist education of the individual. The party will continue to take pains over the all-around enhancement of the prestige of honest, highly productive labor, over the development of initiative and creativity in work, and over the consolidation of the principles of a communist attitude toward labor.

The firm establishment of communist morality. The creative potential of communist morality — the most humane, just, and noble morality based on loyalty to the goals of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism — is revealed increasingly fully under the conditions of the gradual advance toward communism. Our morality has absorbed both simple, universal human moral values and the norms of people's behavior and relationships generated by the peoples' masses in the many centuries of struggle against exploitation and for freedom and social equality, happiness and peace.

Communist morality, for whose assertion the CPSU is acting, is:

— **A collectivist morality.** "One for all and all for one" — that is its basic principle. It is incompatible with egotism, selfishness, and conceit and it harmoniously combines nationwide, collective, and personal interests;

— **A humanitarian morality.** It ennobles the working man, is pervaded with profound respect for him, and will not tolerate encroachments on his dignity. It asserts truly human relations between people, relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid, benevolence, honesty, simplicity, and modesty in personal and public life;

— **An active, effective morality.** It prompts man to undertake new labor and creative achievements, to take an interested part in the life of the collective and of the entire country, to actively reject everything which contradicts the socialist way of life, and to struggle persistently for communist ideals.

Patriotic and international education. The party will continue to work tirelessly to ensure that in Soviet man love for the motherland of October and for the land where he was born and grew up and pride in the historic achievements of the world's first socialist state are combined with proletarian, socialist internationalism and with a sense of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries and with all those who are struggling against imperialism and for social progress and peace.

The CPSU will persistently seek to ensure that the feelings of friendship and fraternity which unite all nations and nationalities of the USSR, a high standard of inter-nation communication, and intolerance toward manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national narrowness and egotism, and customs and morals which impede the communist renewal of life and man are inherent in every Soviet person.

An important task of the party's ideological education work is military-patriotic education, the formation of readiness to defend the socialist fatherland and to give it all one's efforts and, if necessary, one's life too.

Atheist education. While advocating the unconditional observance of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the party denounces attempts to use religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. The correct path for overcoming religious prejudices is people's enhanced labor and public activeness, their enlightenment, and the creation and widespread dissemination of new Soviet rituals.

An important component of communist education work is **the struggle against manifestations of alien ideology and morality and all negative phenomena** connected with vestiges of the past in people's awareness and behavior, with shortcomings in practical work in various spheres of public life, and with delay in resolving urgent problems. The party attaches paramount importance to the consistent and persistent eradication of violations of labor discipline, embezzlement and bribery, speculation and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, a private ownership mentality and money-grubbing, toadying, and servility. It is essential to make full use of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law for this purpose. A good example in public and private life and the execution of one's civil duty is of tremendous educational importance.

The struggle against bourgeois ideology. The very acute struggle between the two world outlooks in the international arena reflects the opposition between the two world systems — socialism and capitalism. The CPSU sees its task as being to bring the peoples the truth about real socialism and the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy, actively propagandize the Soviet way of life, and reveal in a thrusting, well-reasoned way the antipopular, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiting essence. It will form in Soviet people high political awareness and the ability to assess social phenomena from clear-cut class-based positions and to defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society.

The role of **the mass information and propaganda media** is being enhanced in the life of society. The CPSU will seek to ensure that they analyze in depth domestic and international life and economic and social phenomena, actively support everything new and progressive, raise the topical problems which perturb people, and propose ways of solving them. The press, television, and radio are called on to persuade people through the political clarity and purposefulness, depth of content, promptness, fully informed nature, vividness, and comprehensibility of their items. The party

will continue to render active support and assistance to the press and all mass information and propaganda media.

Special attention will be paid to the development of television, the comprehensive expansion of radio and television program coverage for the population, and the improvement of the content, ideological and artistic standard, and appeal of programs.

In mass political and propaganda work it is essential resolutely to eradicate manifestations of empty verbosity, formalism, and primitivism. All its forms and means must help to mobilize the masses' creative energy for the fulfillment of the tasks facing the country, ensuring the broad publicity of the work of party and state organs and public organizations, the directness and frankness of communication with people, the correct formation of public opinion, and the growth of its impact on practical deeds. The CPSU will be constantly concerned for the consolidation of the material base of ideological work.

2. In the Sphere of Public Education

The party consistently pursues a line of educating and training conscious, highly educated people capable of both physical and mental labor and energetic activity in the national economy, in various spheres of public and state life, and in the sphere of science and culture. The education system created in the USSR, which is truly of the people, has ensured that all citizens have access to knowledge and made it possible in a historically short space of time to eliminate mass illiteracy and go over to universal secondary education.

The CPSU will continue to improve the system of public education in light of the requirements of the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the prospects of building communism, and the demands made by progress in science and technology. The reform of general and vocational educational schools which is being implemented in the country is based on the creative development of the Leninist principles of an integrated polytechnical labor education system and is aimed at raising still higher the standard of young people's education and upbringing, improving their preparation for an independent working life, and effecting a gradual transition to universal vocational education. The education system is called upon to inculcate in students a sense of love for the motherland and respect for their elders, parents, and teachers, to educate them in a spirit of high responsibility for the quality of study and labor and for their own behavior, and to develop student self-management [uchenicheskoye samoupravleniye]. In the course of implementing the measures planned, the further development and rapprochement and, in the long term, the merging of vocational and general education will take place.

In accordance with the requirements of scientific, technical, and social progress, the system of secondary specialized and higher education will be further developed. It should react sensitively and promptly to the needs of production, science, and culture and supply the national economy's requirements for specialists who combine a high level of vocational training, ideological and political maturity, and the habits of organizational and management activity. The party attaches great significance to the development of the system of improving skills, which alongside correspondence and evening teaching will create favorable opportunities for all working people to continue their education and constantly widen and renew their knowledge, and for the constant growth of their overall culture and professional standard.

The party will display tireless concern for pedagogical cadres and for strengthening and developing the material base of the entire education system.

3. In the Sphere of Science

Science plays an ever-increasing role in the development of productive forces and the improvement of social relations, the creation of fundamentally new types of technology and techniques, the improvement of labor productivity, the exploitation of the resources of the earth, the oceans, and space, and the conservation and improvement of the environment.

The party's policy in the sphere of science is aimed at creating favorable conditions for dynamic progress in all sectors of knowledge and at concentrating cadres and material and financial resources in the most promising avenues intended to accelerate the attainment of the planned economic and social goals and society's spiritual development and to ensure the country's reliable defense capability.

The dialectical materialist methodology was and is a principled, tried and tested basis for natural science and social knowledge. It must continue to be developed creatively and applied skillfully in research work.

Soviet science is called upon to hold leading positions in the basic avenues of scientific and technical progress and to find effective, timely solutions for long-term and current production and socioeconomic problems. It is important to ensure the preferential development of basic and fundamental research and to seek the speediest implementation of scientific ideas in the national economy and other spheres of human activity. Organizational and economic forms of integration of science and production and management of scientific and technical progress should be constantly improved, topical applied research and experimental and design studies should be extended, and their effectiveness in terms of results should be increased. Collaboration among academic, VUZ, and sector science must be consistently strengthened.

The attention of social scientists should be concentrated on the study and all-around analysis of the experience of world development, the creation of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, the material and spiritual spheres in the conditions of socialism, the laws governing the development of communist formation, and the ways and means of gradual progress toward its highest phase. The scientific analysis of the objective contradictions of socialist society, the elaboration of well-substantiated recommendations for resolving them, and reliable economic and social forecasts — that is the urgent task of the social sciences at the present stage of development.

The processes taking place in the communist, workers, and national liberation movements and in capitalist society need to be studied in depth. The course of world development raises many questions of a global scale for mankind. Scientific thought should give the correct answers to these questions. The struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, revisionism, and dogmatism was and is an important task for social science.

The party supports the bold quest, the rivalry of ideas and avenues in science, and fruitful debates and discussion. Both scholastic arguments and the practice of passively recording facts while shunning bold theoretical generalizations, jumping on bandwagons [konyunkturshchina], and dissociation from reality are contraindicated for science. The complex, interconnected nature of present-day problems requires a deepening of the integration of social, natural, and technical sciences. There should be wider development of those forms of organization of science which ensure the interdisciplinary study of topical problems, the necessary maneuverability of scientific cadres, and the flexibility of the structure of scientific institutions, research, and development. It is necessary to increase their role in the formation and implementation of economic and social development plans. An essential condition for science's progress is the constant influx of fresh forces, including forces from the production sphere, the skillful utilization of scientists' creative potential, and the provision of incentives for their labor depending on their real contribution to the study of theoretical and applied problems.

4. In The Sphere of Cultural Building, Literature, and Art

The creation of a multinational Soviet culture which is truly of the people and has won international recognition is a historic achievement for our system. The source of that culture's mighty influence lies in fidelity to the truth of life and to the ideals of socialism and communism, profound humanism and optimism, and close links with the people.

The CPSU attaches great significance to the fuller, more profound assimilation by the working people's masses of the riches of spiritual and material culture and active access to artistic creativity for them. Guided consistently by the Leninist principles of cultural building, the party will display concern for the aesthetic education of the working people and rising generations in the best examples of our country's and the world's artistic culture. The aesthetic principle will still further animate labor, elevate man, and embellish his life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to satisfy the growing needs of various categories of the population, ensure the necessary conditions for amateur artistic creativity by the people, develop abilities, enrich the socialist way of life, and mold sound requirements and high aesthetic tastes. In the party's view, an essential condition of the successful resolution of these tasks is the constant improvement of the content and methods of cultural enlightenment work and the strengthening of its material base and intensive cultural building in the countryside and in regions being newly opened up.

The party will help in every way to increase the role of literature and art. They are called upon to serve the people's interests and the cause of communism as a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, feelings, and thoughts, and to actively help their ideological enrichment and moral education.

The main line in the development of literature and art is the strengthening of ties with the people's life, the truthful representation to a high artistic standard of socialist reality, the inspired, vivid revelation of what is new and advanced, and the impassioned unmasking of all that hinders society's forward movement.

The art of socialist realism is founded on the principles of popular spirit and partymindedness. It combines bold innovation in the truthful artistic reproduction of life with the utilization and development of all the progressive traditions of the culture of our country and the world. Personalities in literature and art have broad scope for really free creativity, for improving their skill, and for further developing diverse realistic forms, styles, and genres. As the people's cultural level rises, the influence of art on society's life and its moral and psychological climate is stepped up. This increases the responsibility of the masters of culture for the ideological thrust of creative work and the artistic force of their works' influence.

The CPSU has a solicitous, respectful attitude toward talent and the artistic quest. At the same time it has always struggled and will continue to struggle, with the help of creative unions, public opinion, and Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism, against manifestations of lack of ideological content, philosophical eclecticism, aesthetic aridity, and hackwork.

Soviet culture promotes mutual understanding and rapprochement between peoples and participates actively in the struggle against imperialism, reaction, and war. Embodying the ideological wealth and diversity of the socialist society's spiritual life and its real humanism, it enriches world culture and reveals itself increasingly fully as a mighty factor for mankind's spiritual progress and a prototype for the future culture of communism.

PART THREE. THE CPSU'S TASKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The CPSU's international policy stems from the humane nature of the socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression and has no classes or social groups with an interest in unleashing wars. It is indissolubly linked with the party's vital, strategic tasks inside the country and expresses the Soviet people's one desire — to engage in creative labor and live in peace with all peoples.

The main aims and avenues of the CPSU's international policy:

— to ensure favorable external conditions for the improvement of the socialist society and for the advance toward communism in the USSR; to eliminate the threat of world war and achieve universal security and disarmament;

— to steadily extend and deepen the USSR's cooperation with

the fraternal socialist countries and promote in every way the strengthening and progress of the world system of socialism;

— to develop equal, friendly relations with the countries which have gained liberation;

— to maintain and develop the USSR's relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and businesslike, mutually advantageous cooperation;

— international solidarity with communist and revolutionary democratic parties, the international workers' movement, and the peoples' national liberation struggle.

The CPSU's approach to foreign policy problems combines the firm defense of the Soviet people's interests and resolute opposition to imperialism's aggressive policy with readiness for dialogue and the constructive resolution of international questions by means of talks.

The peace-loving foreign policy course which has been elaborated by the party and is consistently implemented by the Soviet state, combined with the strengthening of the country's defense capability, has secured for the Soviet people and for most of the world's population the longest period of peaceful life in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for Soviet people's creative labor, to improve international relations, to end the arms race which has swept through the world, and to avert the threat of nuclear war which hangs over the peoples.

To defend and consolidate peace, to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of the present and future generations — there is no higher, more responsible mission. **A world without wars, without weapons — that is the ideal of socialism.**

I. Cooperation With the Socialist Countries

The CPSU attaches priority significance to the further development and strengthening of friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The party seeks lasting, comradely relations and multifaceted cooperation between the USSR and all the states of the world socialist system. It proceeds on the basis that the socialist countries' cohesion accords with the interests of each one of them and with their common interests and serves the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals.

It is a subject of special concern to the CPSU to strengthen friendship in every way and to develop and improve the ties between the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries.

The motive force in their all-around cooperation is the ruling communist and workers parties. With a view to strengthening the cohesion of the Communists in the fraternal countries and mutually enriching the practice of leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to promote the widening of interparty ties embracing all levels of the parties — from central committees to primary party organizations; and to promote the exchange of opinions and experience on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue the line of strengthening interstate relations between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and enshrining them in treaty form, developing contacts between legislative organs and public organizations, and further activating all forms of political cooperation.

Soviet Communists advocate increasingly effective collaboration among the fraternal countries in the international arena, taking account of the situation and interests of each of them and the common interests of the community.

In conditions where the NATO imperialist military bloc exists, the party deems it necessary to promote in every way the improvement of the activity of the Warsaw Pact as an instrument of collective defense against imperialism's aggressive aspirations and the joint struggle for lasting peace and the widening of international cooperation.

In the sphere of mutual economic relations, the CPSU advocates the further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material basis for rallying the socialist countries. It deems it particularly important to consistently pool the fraternal countries' efforts in the key avenues of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress and for the joint resolution of a task of historic significance — that of attaining leading positions in science and technology with a view to the further growth of their peoples' prosperity and the strengthening of their security.

The party proceeds on the basis that integration is called upon to promote to an increasing extent the progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the community countries, the acceleration of the process of equalization of their levels of economic development, and the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world.

The CPSU will participate actively in the fraternal parties' joint work to coordinate economic policy, improve the machinery of economic collaboration, seek new forms of such collaboration, deepen specialization and production sharing, coordinate plans, exchange leading experience, and establish direct ties between associations and enterprises. It will promote the enhancement of CEMA's role and the expansion of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programs.

While regarding equal and mutually advantageous economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist states as natural and useful, at the same time the party proceeds on the basis that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the community's technical and economic invulnerability to hostile acts by imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

In the sphere of ideology the CPSU advocates the pooling of the fraternal parties' efforts aimed at the study and utilization of the experience of socialist building and the communist education of

working people and at developing Marxist-Leninist theory while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. The activation of collective thought and the constant expansion of the exchange of spiritual assets and cooperation in the sphere of science and culture serve to further deepen the friendship among the socialist countries.

The party will continue to promote the strengthening of consciousness of the unity and commonality of the historic destinies of the fraternal peoples. Disseminating the truth about socialism, exposing imperialist policy and propaganda, rebuffing anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, and struggling against dogmatic and revisionist views — all these tasks are resolved more successfully when communists act in a united front.

The CPSU considers it its international duty together with the other fraternal parties to strengthen the unity and increase the might and influence of the socialist community. The course of socialism's competition with capitalism and the future of world civilization depend to an enormous extent on the socialist community's stability, the successes of each country's creative activity, and the purposefulness and coordinated nature of their actions.

The experience of the development of the world socialist system attests that the socialist system creates every possibility both for society's confident progress and for harmonious mutual relations among countries. But neither one nor the other arrives spontaneously.

The levels of countries' economic and political development, their historical and cultural traditions, and the conditions in which they find themselves are not identical. The socialist countries' social development does not always go in a straight line. Each major stage of this development puts forward complex new tasks whose resolution is linked with a struggle and quests and with overcoming contradictions and difficulties.

All this, the CPSU is convinced, requires the greatest attention and comprehensive cooperation in order to ensure that grounds for disagreements capable of damaging common interests are not created. The coordination of actions on fundamental questions, comradely interest in each other's successes, the precise fulfillment of adopted pledges, and the profound understanding of both national and common, international interests in their organic interrelationship are of particular importance.

The formation and development of the new society is taking place in a situation of acute confrontation between the two world systems. In order to weaken socialism's positions and disrupt the reciprocal ties among the socialist states — first and foremost the links with the Soviet Union — imperialism employs a whole system of differentiated political, economic, and ideological measures, tries to speculate on problems that arise, and resorts to the utilization of nationalist sentiments for subversive ends. The CPSU proceeds on the basis that under these conditions the socialist countries' firm unity and class solidarity is of particularly great importance.

The experience of the CPSU and all world socialism attests that the most important factors of its successful onward movement are the loyalty of ruling communist and workers parties to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative application of that teaching, the parties' firm links with the broad masses of working people, the strengthening of their prestige and leading role in society, the strict observance of Leninist norms of party and state life, and the development of socialist people's power; sober consideration of the real situation and the timely and scientifically substantiated resolution of problems that arise; and the building [postroyeniye] of relations with the other fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the particular features of each socialist country — its economic level, size, and historical and national traditions — they all have the same class interests. What unites and rallies the socialist countries is the main factor and is immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that, given full observance of equal rights and mutual respect for national interests, the socialist countries will travel the road of increasingly great mutual understanding and rapprochement. The party will promote this historically progressive process.

II. Strengthening Relations With The Liberated Countries

In defining policy toward former colonial and semicolonial countries, the CPSU proceeds on the basis that the entry of formerly enslaved peoples on the path of independence, the emergence of dozens of new states, and the raising of their relative weight in world politics and economics are one of the distinguishing features of the modern era.

The liberated peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are faced with playing a great role in the fate of all mankind. **The CPSU advocates that these peoples' mounting influence increasingly promote the cause of peace and social progress.**

The CPSU consistently pursues the line of expanding friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the liberated countries and has profound sympathy for the aspirations of peoples who have experienced the heavy and demeaning yoke of colonial servitude. The soviet union builds its relations with these countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equal rights and supports their struggle against imperialism's neocolonialist policy, against vestiges of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

The party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic cooperation with **socialist-oriented countries.** Mainly through their own efforts every people create the material and technical base needed for building [postroyeniye] the new society and strive to increase the masses' prosperity and culture. To the extent of its abilities the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give peoples traveling this route aid in their economic and cultural building, in training national cadres, in increasing defense capability, and in other spheres.

The CPSU is deepening relations with the liberated countries' **revolutionary democratic parties. Particularly close cooperation**

has taken shape with those of them striving to build their activity on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU favors the development of ties with all national progressive parties occupying anti-imperialist and patriotic stances.

The practice of the USSR's relations with the liberated countries has shown that real grounds also exist for cooperation with young states which are traveling the capitalist road. There is the interest in maintaining peace, strengthening international security, and ending the arms race; there is the sharpening contradiction between the peoples' interests and the imperialist policy of diktat and expansion; and there is the young states' realization of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union promote the strengthening of their independence.

However the liberated countries differ and whatever paths they travel, their peoples are united by the desire to develop independently and resolve their own affairs themselves and without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is wholly in solidarity with them. For the CPSU it is indisputable that it is their sacred right to determine the destiny of the liberated countries and choose their social system.

The CPSU supports the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of the multinational monopolies and advocates the assertion of the sovereign right to control one's own resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal, democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order, and deliverance from the debt shackles imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of states and peoples repelling the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom, independence, and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important part of the overall struggle for peace and international security. The party deems it its international duty to support the struggle of peoples who are still under the yoke of racism and are victims of the apartheid system.

The CPSU understands the goals and activity of the Nonaligned Movement and advocates increasing its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to side with the nonaligned states in the struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for the surmounting by means of talks of any disputes and conflicts that arise and to oppose the involvement of these states in military-political groupings.

The CPSU favors equal participation by the liberated countries in international affairs and an increase in their contribution to the resolution of the most important problems of the day. Collaboration between these countries and the socialist states is of immense importance for consolidating the peoples' independence, improving international relations, and maintaining peace.

The alliance of the forces of social progress and national liberation is the guarantee of mankind's better future.

III. Relations With Capitalist Countries. The Struggle for Lasting Peace and Disarmament.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the historical dispute between the two opposed social systems into which the modern world is divided can and must be resolved peacefully. Socialism proves its advantages not by force of arms but by the force of its example in all areas of social life — by the dynamic development of the economy, science, and culture, by the enhancement of the living standard of the working people, and by the deepening of socialist democracy.

Soviet Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Each people is worthy of living in a society free of social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality of rights and genuine democracy. To rid themselves of exploitation and injustice is the sovereign right of oppressed and exploited peoples. Revolutions are the logical result of social development and of the class struggle in each given country. The CPSU has always considered and does consider the "export" of revolution and its imposition upon anyone from outside to be fundamentally unacceptable. But any forms of the "export" of counterrevolution are also a very crude encroachment upon the free will of the peoples, and upon their right to independently choose the path of their development.

The Soviet Union resolutely opposes attempts to halt and reverse the course of history by force.

The interests of the peoples require that interstate relations be directed into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable cooperation.

The CPSU upholds firmly and consistently the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The policy of peaceful coexistence, as the CPSU understands it, presupposes: the renunciation of war and of the use of force or threat of force as a means of resolving disputes, and their solution by negotiation; noninterference in the internal affairs and consideration of the legitimate interests of each other; the right of peoples to independently determine their own destiny; strict respect for sovereignty, for the territorial integrity of states and for the inviolability of their borders; cooperation on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual benefit; and the conscientious discharge of commitments arising from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international treaties that have been concluded.

Such are the fundamental principles upon which the Soviet Union builds its relations with the capitalist states. They are enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

The CPSU will purposefully promote the ubiquitous firm establishment in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally acknowledged norm of interstate relations which is observed by all. It considers the spread of the ideological contradictions between the two systems to the sphere of these relations to be inadmissible.

The party will strive for the development of the process of the relaxation of international tension, regarding it as a natural and necessary stage on the path toward the creation of a comprehensive and reliable system of security. The available experience of

cooperation confirms the feasibility of such a prospect. The CPSU favors the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find an optimal correlation of national and state interests with the interests common to all mankind. It favors the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in consolidating peace and in the development of international cooperation.

Special responsibility for the situation in the world rests with the nuclear powers. The states possessing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce their use and threat of their use and refrain from steps leading to an exacerbation of the international situation.

The CPSU favors normal, stable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which presuppose noninterference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, the acknowledgment and practical implementation of the principle of identical security, and the establishment of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences of social systems and ideology are not a reason for tense relations. Objective preconditions exist for the establishment of fruitful, mutually advantageous Soviet-U.S. cooperation in various spheres. It is the CPSU's conviction that the policy of both powers must be oriented toward mutual understanding and not toward enmity, which entails the threat of catastrophic consequences not only for the Soviet and American peoples but also for other peoples as well.

The CPSU is convinced that all states, large and small, regardless of their potential or geographical location and irrespective of which social system they belong to, can and must participate in the quest for solutions to acute problems, in the settlement of conflict situations, and in measures to relax tension and curb the arms race.

The CPSU attaches great significance to the further development of peaceful good-neighborliness and cooperation among the states of Europe. Respect for the territorial-political realities which came about as a result of World War II is an inalienable condition for the stability of positive processes in this and in other regions. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to attempts to revise these realities on any pretexts whatsoever and will rebuff any manifestations of revanchism.

The party will consistently strive to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust, and peaceful cooperation in Europe, begun at the Soviet Union's initiative and with its active participation, develops, deepens, **and encompasses the whole world**. The CPSU advocates the pooling of efforts of all interested states for the purposes of ensuring security in Asia, and it advocates a joint search by them for a constructive solution to this problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins can and must become zones of peace and good-neighborliness.

The CPSU favors the development of broad, long-term, and stable links between states in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage. Foreign economic cooperation is of great political significance, promoting the strengthening of peace and of relations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The Soviet Union rejects any forms of discrimination and the use of trading, economic, scientific, and technical relations as a means of exerting pressure, and it will seek to ensure the economic security of states.

The CPSU is an advocate of the broad mutual exchange of genuine cultural values between all countries. This exchange must serve humane goals: the spiritual enrichment of peoples and the strengthening of peace and good-neighborliness.

The party and the Soviet state will cooperate with other countries in solving global problems, which have become especially exacerbated in the second half of the 20th century and are vitally important for all mankind: the preservation of the environment, the energy, raw materials, food, and demographic problems, the peaceful development of space and of the wealth of the world's oceans, the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many liberated countries, the liquidation of dangerous diseases and so forth. Their solution requires the joint efforts of all states. It will be substantially facilitated if the squandering of effort and means on the arms race is terminated.

In the interests of mankind and for the good of the present and future generations, **the CPSU and the Soviet state uphold a broad, constructive program of measures aimed at ending the arms race and securing disarmament and at ensuring the peace and security of the peoples.**

Regarding **general and complete disarmament** under strict, comprehensive international control as a historic task and continuing the struggle for its realization, the CPSU will consistently seek:

— **the limitation and narrowing of the sphere of military preparations**, especially those connected with weapons of mass destruction. Above all, space must be totally excluded from this sphere to ensure that it does not become an arena of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. The exploration and development of space must be carried out only for peaceful purposes for the development of science and production in accordance with the needs of all peoples. The USSR favors collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will participate energetically in international cooperation of this kind. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures which promote the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and the creation of zones free of these and other means of mass destruction;

— The implementation of steps leading to **the total elimination of nuclear arms** and including the ending of tests and the production of all types of these weapons, the renunciation by all nuclear powers of first use of nuclear weapons, and the freezing, reduction, and destruction of all arsenals of these weapons;

— **The cessation of the production and the destruction of other types of weapons of mass destruction**, including chemical weapons, and the prohibition of the creation of new types of such weapons;

— **The reduction of the armed forces of states**, and primarily of the permanent members of the Security Council and of states linked with them by military agreements, the limitation of con-

ventional arms, the ending of the creation of new types of conventional arms which approximate weapons of mass destruction in terms of casualty-inflicting potential, and the reduction of the military expenditure of states;

— **The freezing and reduction of forces and armaments in the most explosive regions of the planet**, the elimination of military bases on foreign territory, the adoption of measures for mutual confidence building and for reducing the risk of the emergence of armed conflicts, including those arising accidentally [v resultate sluchaynosti].

The CPSU's stance is to seek to overcome the world's split into military-political groupings. The CPSU favors the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact or, as a first step, the dismantling of their military organizations. For the purpose of reducing the confrontation between military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual nonuse of force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, which treaty will be open to all other states.

The CPSU will strive to ensure that questions of arms limitation and of averting the threat of war may be resolved by honest and strictly observed accords on the basis of the equality and identical security of the sides, and that any attempts to conduct negotiations "from a position of strength" or to use them as a cover for building up arms may be ruled out.

The Soviet state and its allies do not strive to achieve military superiority but nor will they allow the military-strategic equilibrium which has come about in the world arena to be disrupted. At the same time, they consistently seek to ensure that the level of this equilibrium is steadily lowered and that the quantity of arms on both sides is reduced while the security of all peoples is guaranteed.

The CPSU solemnly states that there is no weapon that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or prohibit on a mutual basis with the application of effective control.

The USSR does not encroach on the security of any country, be it in the West or in the East. It threatens no one, does not seek antagonism with any state, and desires to live in peace with all countries. Since the time of Great October, the Soviet socialist state has borne aloft the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples, and the CPSU will continue to preserve its loyalty to this Leninist banner.

IV. The CPSU in The World Workers and Communist Movement

The CPSU is a component of the international communist movement. It views its activity to improve socialist society and to advance toward communism as a very important international task whose solution accords with the interests of the world socialist system and the interests of the international working class and all mankind.

The communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also on the frontline of the struggle for the conservation of peace on earth and for people's right to life. They clearly understand the reasons for the threat of war, expose those really to blame for the aggravation of international tension and the arms race, and seek to cooperate with all those who can contribute to the antiwar struggle.

The CPSU believes that the communist and workers parties of the nonsocialist world are acting in a complex and contradictory situation. The range of the conditions and forms of their struggle is very broad. Yet that does not restrict but, on the contrary, expands the movement's potential. The multiplicity of the forms of their activity enables communists better to consider specific national features, the specific historical situation, and the interests of various social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the communists of each country independently analyze and assess the situation and determine autonomously their own strategic course, their own policy, and the choice of particular paths of struggle for immediate and ultimate goals and for communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable international asset.

The CPSU attentively studies the foreign communist parties' problems and experience. It treats with understanding their desire to improve their strategy and tactics, to achieve the expansion of the class alliances on the platform of antimonopoly and antiwar actions, and to uphold the working people's economic interests and political rights, proceeding from the premise that the struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles of various countries are closely coordinating their actions against socialism and all democratic forces and are seeking to set some communist parties against others. Under these conditions the importance of proletarian internationalism and communists' comradely solidarity increases.

The CPSU believes that the existence of differences on individual questions should not prevent the communist parties' international cooperation and their united actions.

In those cases when differences on individual problems arise between the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions with a view to better understanding each other's views and elaborating mutually acceptable assessments. When it is a case of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the thrust and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue from principled positions to rebuff opportunism, reformism, dogmatism, and sectarianism. This also defines the CPSU's attitude toward any attempts to emasculate the class meaning of communists' activity or to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and means of the struggle to achieve them. Experience shows that deviations from the foundations of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin weaken the communist movement's potential.

In its relations with the fraternal parties, **the CPSU firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism**, which

organically includes revolutionary solidarity and a recognition of each party's full autonomy and equal rights. On the basis of this principle the CPSU actively develops ties with the communist and workers parties, exchanging information and taking part in bilateral and multilateral meetings and the regional and broader international conferences held when necessary.

Soviet Communists are always on the side of their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists who are the victims of reaction's tyranny. It assesses highly the solidarity of the fraternal parties and their struggle against anti-Sovietism. The mutual support of the communist and workers parties of the socialist and non-socialist countries is an important factor of social progress.

The CPSU will continue its line toward the development of relations with socialist, social-democratic, and labor parties. Cooperation with them can play an important part, above all in preventing nuclear war. However deep the differences between various currents of the workers movement, this is no obstacle to the fruitful and systematic exchange of opinions or to parallel and even joint actions against the danger of war and for the normalization of the international situation, the abolition of the vestiges of colonialism, and the working people's interests and rights.

The CPSU attaches great importance to activating the cooperation of all sectors of the international workers movement and to the intensification of collaboration between trade unions of various orientations and the youth, women's, peasants', and other democratic organizations of various countries.

Profoundly aware of its historic responsibility to the world working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue to:

— Defend the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist foundations of the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism, and consistently struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and any influences exerted by bourgeois ideology on the workers movement;

— Do everything for the cohesion and collaboration of the fraternal parties, communists' international solidarity, and an increase in the communist movement's contribution to the prevention of world war;

— Steer a consistent course toward the unity of actions of the international working class and all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for lasting peace and the peoples' security, and for national independence, democracy, and socialism.

PART FOUR. THE PARTY — THE LEADING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

The CPSU has traveled a path unprecedented in its depth and in the force of its impact on social development. Its ascent has been rapid from the first Marxist circles through three people's revolutions to the leadership of a great socialist power.

The Soviet people's historic achievements in building a new society, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the country's confident advance toward increasingly high levels of socioeconomic and spiritual progress, and the growth of the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are indivisibly linked with the communist party's activity. It is the inspirer and organizer of the masses' historical creativity and the leading and guiding force of our society. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the party defines the general prospects for the country's development, ensures the scientific leadership of the people's constructive activity, and imparts an organized, planned, and purposeful nature to communist building.

As a result of the building [postroyeniye] of socialism in the USSR, the transition of all strata of working people to the positions of the working class, and the consolidation of Soviet society's sociopolitical and ideological unity, the communist party, while remaining the party of the working class in terms of its class essence and ideology, has become the party of the whole people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity and class-based nature of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and entire activity.

Under the new historical conditions, when the country has been faced with crucial tasks in internal development and in the international arena, **the party's leading role naturally grows** in the life of Soviet society and higher demands are made on the standard of its political and organizational activity. This is conditioned by basic factors such as:

— The increased dimensions and the complexity of the tasks of improving socialism and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the need to elaborate and consistently implement a policy which ensures their successful solution and the organic interconnection of society's economic, social, and spiritual progress;

— The development of the political system and the intensification of democracy and the people's socialist self-management on the basis of the masses' enhanced political and labor activeness and their broad involvement in the management of production and state and social affairs;

— The need for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the in-depth consideration of the practice of communist building, the search for scientifically substantiated and timely answers to the questions set by life, the raising of working people's awareness, and the eradication of vestiges of petit bourgeois mentality and morality and any deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life;

— The interests of strengthening the socialist countries' cohesion, expanding their comprehensive cooperation, and strengthening the unity of the international communist, workers', and national liberation movement and the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism, and sectarianism;

— The complication of foreign policy conditions in connection with the growth of imperialist aggressiveness and the need to increase vigilance, ensure the country's security and for new and increasingly persistent efforts aimed at curbing the forces of

aggression, ending the arms race, saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, and strengthening world peace.

In implementing the political leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to consistently apply tried and tested Leninist principles, to assert the Leninist style in party work and in all spheres of state and economic management, to enhance the scientific grounds for its policy, to extensively rely on the masses' collective reason and experience, and to develop their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological, theoretical, political education, organizational, and economic activity, to the uncompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism, and to the creative quest for modern solutions to socioeconomic, scientific, technical, and ideological education problems.

The CPSU deems it necessary to thoroughly take the specific functions of party, state, and social organs into account, to coordinate their work, to prevent duplication, to enhance the role of party committees as organs of political leadership, to eradicate manifestations of formalism, conventionalism, and bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the management apparatus, to step up controls over the fulfillment of party resolutions and national economic plans, and to strengthen state and labor discipline, order, and organization.

The party will tirelessly assert a creative approach, professionalism, and high responsibility with principles in the activity of all party organizations and labor collectives, foster the ability objectively and self-critically to assess the results that have been achieved, and take an attentive and sensitive attitude to people and their needs and requirements.

The party indissolubly links the enhancement of the level of the leadership of state, economic, and cultural building with further **improving work with cadres. It deems it necessary for the Leninist** principles of the selection and assessment of cadres according to their political, businesslike, and moral qualities to be rigorously observed everywhere, from the top down, and for public opinion to be more fully taken into account.

In its entire cadre policy the CPSU will promote the nomination for leadership of politically mature, highly moral, competent, and enterprising workers drawn from communists and nonparty people and will more actively nominate women for leadership work. It attaches principled importance to leadership qualities such as a sense of what is new, a willingness to take responsibility, a desire to learn to work better, an ability to take into account the political meaning of economic management and any activity linked with people,and expecting much from oneself and others.

The party is concerned to ensure that in all sectors, young and promising workers should work hand in hand with experienced cadres of the older generation, gain experience, and acquire the necessary tempering. This is a natural process that must not be violated since it creates a reliable guarantee against sluggishness, stagnation, and voluntarism.

Trust in cadres must be combined with expecting much from them, increasing their personal responsibility to party organizations and labor collectives for the results of work and the observance of party and state discipline, and stepping up controls over the activity of leaders on the part of the masses. Each leader must be fully accountable for his assigned task, build relations with people properly, and inspire them through personal example. **No party organization and no worker can remain outside the scope of control.**

The development of the party is characterized by the further **growth and strengthening of party ranks and the improvement of intraparty relations on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism.**

Absorbing front-ranking representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and Soviet intelligentsia, the party is increasing its influence in various sectors of communist building. the CPSU considers it necessary that workers take the leading place in its social makeup. People's political and professional qualities, honesty and probity, and readiness to devote all their strength to the cause of communism have been and remain the determining condition for admission to party ranks. It is necessary to strictly put a stop to attempts to infiltrate the party for careerist motives.

Belonging to the party brings no privileges but means merely greater responsibility for everything that is happening in the country and for the fate of communist building and social progress. Each Communist is obliged to be a model in labor, in behavior, and in social and personal life. The stability of the party's ties with the masses and its prestige among the people largely depend on how fully the **vanguard role of Communists** is manifested. The party will constantly step up demands on each of its members concerning their attitude toward their duty and the honest and pure makeup of a party member and judge them by their deeds and actions.

The CPSU regards the further **dissemination and deepening of intraparty democracy**, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and extensive publicity as a guarantee of its successful activity and high creative activeness.

The party will continue to build its entire work on the basis of the tried and tested **principle of collectiveness**. With a view to further asserting and developing it, the CPSU deems it necessary to enhance the role and importance of party meetings, plenums, conferences, and congresses and of party committees and bureaus as collegial organs of leadership and to ensure favorable conditions for the free and businesslike discussion within the party of questions of its policy and practical activity.

In striving to ensure that the democratic principles of intraparty life are consistently implemented, the CPSU simultaneous,, devotes unremitting attention to the **strengthening of party discipline**. The firm and conscientious discipline of party members is a necessary prerequisite for high socialist discipline in all spheres of society's life.

Successful party activity and the growth of Communists' activeness are indissolubly linked with further improving the work of primary party organizations. As the political nucleus of labor collectives, they are called upon to promote in every possible way

the combination of party policy with the vital creativity of the masses.

The party will always strengthen the unity and monolithic nature of party ranks. It retains in the arsenal of its means the organizational guarantees stipulated by the CPSU Rules against any manifestations of factionalism and cliquishness whatsoever. The most important source of the party's strength and invincibility lies in its indissoluble ideological and organizational cohesion.

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the people are the creators of history and communist creation is the work of their hands, their energy, and their minds. The people's living creativity is the guarantee of all our achievements.

The party exists for the people and sees the purport of its activity in serving them. The goals and tasks which it sets itself reflect Soviet people's aspirations and fundamental interests. The party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, constantly expand and deepen its links with the masses, and live for their needs and concerns. It considers it its duty to constantly consult working people on the most important questions of domestic and foreign policy, to attentively take account of public opinion, and to involve nonparty people more actively in participating in the work of party organizations. The more actively the party is supported by the people the greater the influence it will exert on the course of social development.

In all its activity the CPSU is steadily guided by the **tried and tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism**. It will promote in every possible way the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, develop fraternal ties with all communist and workers parties, actively cooperate with them in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and support their struggle for the defense of working people's fundamental interests and for national liberation, democracy, and socialism.

That is the CPSU Program.

The party calls on Communists and all working people — workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia — to tackle with all their vigor the implementation of the historic tasks put forward by it. The party is confident that Soviet people will perceive the CPSU program as their vital concern and will make every effort to implement it.

The party's strategy is to achieve a qualitatively new state of society through the substantial acceleration of socioeconomic progress. The all-around improvement of socialism will bring new benefits to each family and each Soviet person and will lead to the further prosperity of our socialist fatherland and ultimately to the triumph of communism.

Our people's onward movement toward this cherished goal will augment the magnetic force of the ideas of transforming society on the basis of humanitarianism and social justice. They are winning people's hearts and minds through the example of the more sophisticated organization of society, the steady growth of productive forces, the nurturing of the conditions for people's creative labor, happiness, and prosperity, the resolute rejection of aggressive wars, and the assertion of the principles of peace and broad cooperation among peoples on the basis of equality and universal security.

Communists and all our country's working people are looking to the future with confidence. We are confident of our strength and are firmly convinced that through the selfless labor of the Soviet people — a creator people and builder people — the tasks that have been set will be resolved and the planned heights will be scaled. That is the inexorable will of the communist party and the entire Soviet people.

Under the leadership of the party and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people have built socialism.

Under the leadership of the party and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people will build a communist society.